THE BLACK PANTHER

25 cents

Black Community News Service

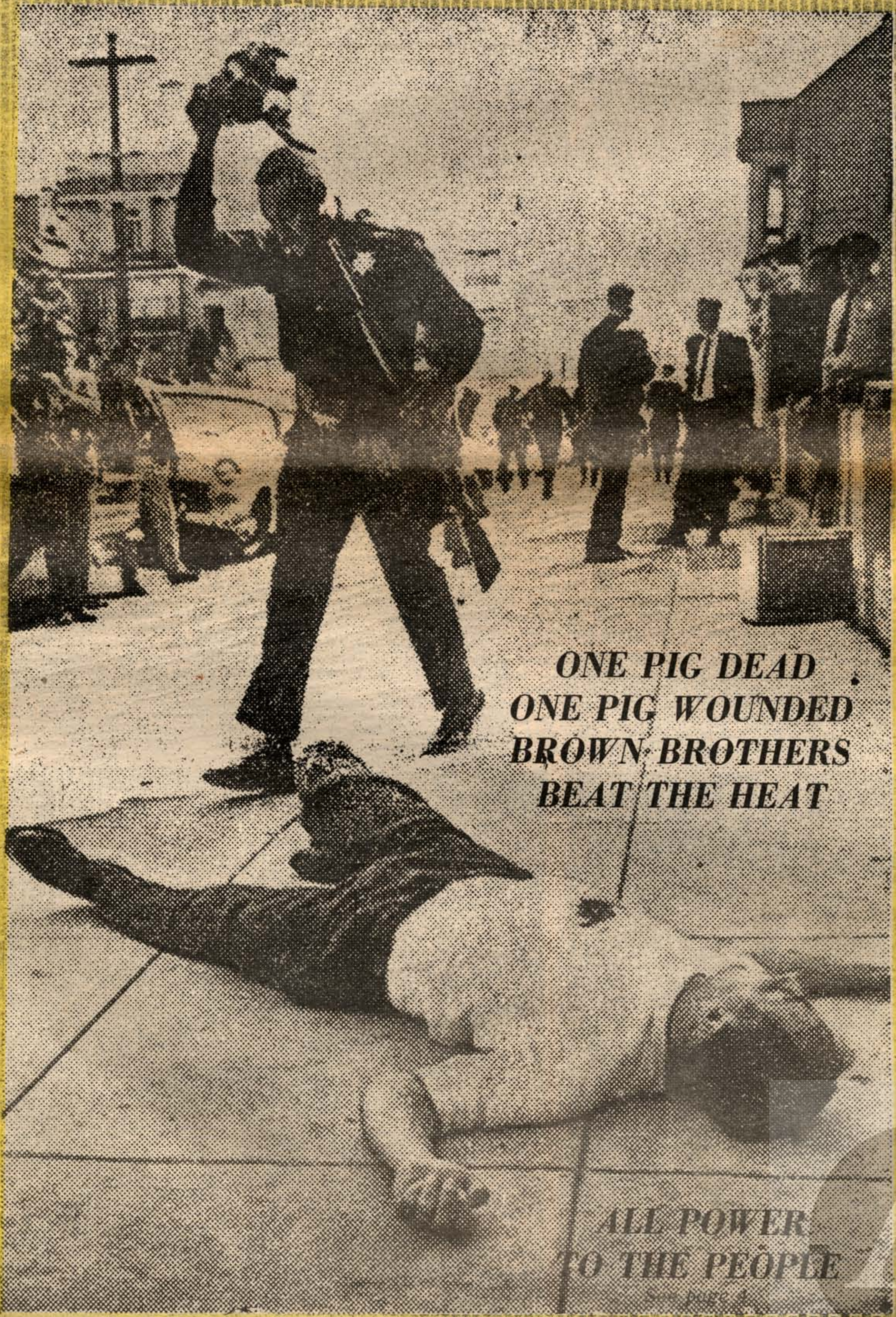
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ONE PIG DEAD
ONE PIG WOUNDED
BROWN BROTHERS
BEAT THE HEAT

ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE

See page 4

PIGS BOMB DES MOINES PANTHER HEADQUARTERS



Damage is inspected by Lt. Steve Green and deputy Min. of Ed. Charles Knox



Automobile caught up in rumble of blast

On Saturday, April 26, 1969, at 11:47 p.m. the Des Moines Black Panther headquarters, 1207 11th St. was unmercifully bombed by some faggoted "pigs" with intentions to kill all those present in the headquarters--another attempt to wipe out leadership of the Panther Party. Four Panthers and two Brothers "in training" were doing political work and study at the time of the blast. Those present were Charles Knox, Deputy Minister of Education, Lt. Steve Greene, head of Distribution, Lil Mike, private, Bill Fowler, private, Clive DePatten, in training, and Johnson Hughes, in training. Brothers inside of headquarters were shaken-up very badly, and several cut with flying glass.

20 to 30 seconds after the blast, the "pigs" were inside of the headquarters asking if anybody had been hurt. They were foaming and slobbering all over with joy as they maced brothers who were attempting to recover valuable party equipment to carry on political work. After being maced, three brothers who were in the headquarters were arrested for disturbing the peace and quiet and resisting arrest. Another brother was arrested when he inquired about the "charges on those arrested."

In addition, a warrant has been issued for Charles Knox, Deputy Minister of Education for assault and battery with intent to do great bodily harm.

48 homes in the area were damaged in addition to three houses, a truck and a car sitting next to the headquarters were badly damaged.

The pigs harassed community and stood guard and refused entrance to the Panthers members by holding shot guns on the headquarters under the pretense of trying to save people while holding guard (on private property--without a search warrant) the vicious pigs stole literature and other Panther equipment. The pigs held riot guns all night long, macing people who walked by on the sidewalk. They just oinked and oinked shitting all over the "best and highest humanity" (the Black Panther Party)

The racist piggish m-----f-----s that we're up against, has made another effort to destroy, cripple or kill off the Black liberation movement in Des Moines, Iowa. We contend that the pigs committed it because of their more than prompt appearance, the manner in which they began to mace and arrest individuals and in the manner in which they used the opportunity to loot and pilfer. It's more than a miracle that the six people inside at the time were not killed. From this act alone the black community can feel a need for unity. If it takes three headquarters to heighten the people's education then right on-- We're all for it--The ones who did this, obviously had no regards for the lives of the people who were affected by this act. A lot of people wonder why don't we leave the headquarters. The people can not relate to it. This is war......THIS IS REVOLUTION...The Vietnamese people do not evacuate because living conditions become miserable neither shall we.

The telephone still works. We have a mimeograph machine and typewriter, so right on, We're not going anywhere. And if they want to come back and finish the job, they can try it. The Panther in the jungle has been attacked by some arrogant pigs, therefore we're just not going to sit around moping about it. We just don't feel like insulting Huey P. Newton like that.............

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD



After bombing Pigs inspect their work



Near by home damaged by blast



Desmoines Panthers holding planning session after blast



DES MOINES PIGS TRY TO HALT FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM THROUGH TERROR

The Des Moines Black Panther Party's headquarters was bombed on Sunday, April 27, at midnight. Extensive damage was done to the headquarters as well as to surrounding homes. Soul Village, a recreation center in the black community was bombed one month ago. The Panthers were attacked in Goode Park two weeks ago while holding a rally to raise funds for the "Feed the School Children" Program.

The cops were around the house within 30 seconds after the bombing. One cop pulled a gun on unarmed Deputy Minister of Education, Charles Knox.

When the Panthers tried to re-enter their headquarters to salvage literature, typewriters and food for the breakfast program, they were attacked and maced by the cops!

The cops entered the headquarters and stole literature. They ransacked the headquarters in December trying to find incriminating evidence to connect Panther members with the Jewett Lumber Co. fire.

Three Panthers were arrested for "inciting a riot" and "unlawful assembly".

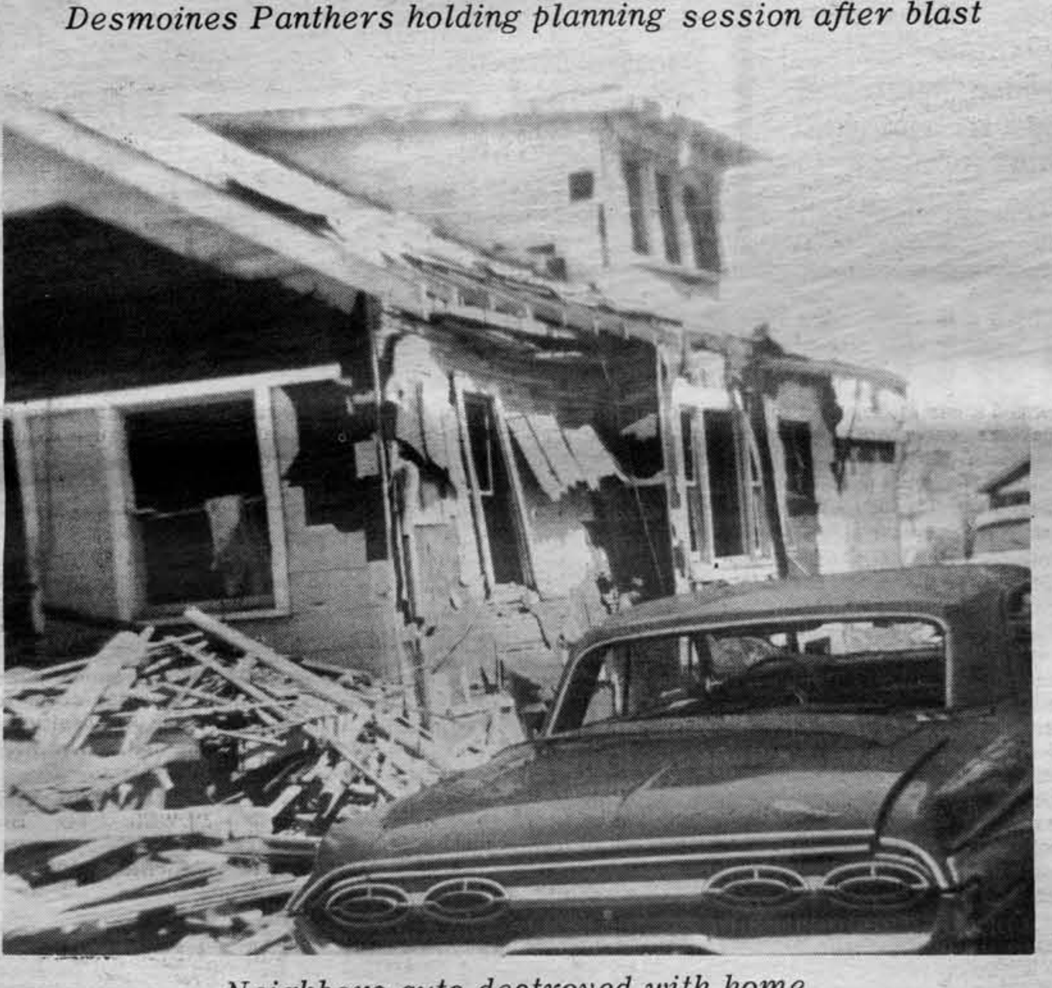
People from the community came to the defense of the Panthers and they were attacked and maced by the cops.

The Panthers have, in the last few months, faced constant harassment and police terror. The ruling class (the people who own the banks, industries and land) and the cops, who carry out the bosses' laws to protect his wealth, are afraid of the Panthers. They are afraid because the Panthers are beginning to build a movement in Des Moines and are gaining support in their community.

The Panthers are educating Black people about their true history. They are filling the empty stomachs of school children, black and white. They work actively in the community to carry out their 10-point program which would benefit all people.

The Panthers are beginning to stress class unity, in exposing the true nature of our economic and political system which is based on the exploitation of workers to increase the profits of the bosses. The ruling class makes large profits from the exploitation of black workers by paying them an average of $3,000 less per year than white workers and by charging them 10% more for food, housing and clothing.

The Panthers are building a movement to put a stop to this exploitation of all working class people. The Des Moines Peace & Freedom Club supports the just struggle of the Panther Party. We must reject the bosses' tool of racism. We will not be strong until we are united.



Neighbors auto destroyed with home



No Panthers were killed in blast



Des Moines Panthers determined to defend community

REVOLUTIONARY HEROS'


JOSE RIOS


MARIO MARTINEZ


NELSON RODRIGUES

ONE PIG DEAD--- ONE WOUNDED
BROWN BROTHERS BEAT THE HEAT

Pigs in San Francisco have stepped up their repression of the Black and Brown Community. They are committing murder at will, they are busting in doors and ripping off the people's property. Mayor Pig Alioto has chosen a top flight crew of murderous pigs to patrol and control the Brown and Black Communities of San Francisco. On May 1st, May Day, the day of the gigantic Free Huey rally, two of Alioto's top executioners vamped on the brothers from the Brown Community who were attending to their own affairs. These brothers, who are endowed with the revolutionary spirit of the Black Panther Party defended themselves from the racist pig gestapo.

Pig Joseph Brodnik received his just reward with a big hole in the chest. Pig Paul McGoran got his in the mouth which was not quite enough to off him.

The revolutionary brothers escaped the huge swarm of pigs with dogs, mace, tanks and helicopters, proving once again that "the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology."

To these brothers the revolutionary people of racist America want to say, by your revolutionary deed you are heroes, and that you are always welcome to our camp.

SWINE TROUCH



RIGHT ON TARGET


JOSEPH·BRODNIK.

COUNTER REVOLUTIONARIES


PAUL McGORAN

THIS LITTLE PIG GOT AWAY THIS TIME

NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT UNION

The Black Panther Party is being ramed up. The Panthers have been eaten, busted, murdered, and exiled ll over the country. The rulers of ew York City cannot afford to let ne Panthers exist. Too many people elieve in and have worked with nem in their communities. Because ne Black Panther Party is working or the people, not the rulers of the ity, they are being framed. There s a plot by the rulers to put the anthers in jail. (To isolate them rom the communities and people.) 'his plot is executed by the press nd police. Without the lies and mass eception of the mass media the fat ats could never have pulled it off. Vithout the cops they could never eep the Panthers isolated. We must ot let our brothers be taken.

The people of New York City are red of the high taxed, lousy schools, eadly health services, delapidated ousing, shitty jobs and inhuman elfare that the men who control this ity force on us. The Panthers are orking with the people to keep the ospitals open, to get better education for all students. They are et free breakfasts for school hildren. They are working for ommunity control of the schools and gainst drug addiction, they are orking with white high school tudents. The Panthers are fighting or the people--they would hardly low up department stores where lack and white working people and their families shop and work.

"We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace". (The Panther Program)

Just as the city wants high school students to believe that the High School Student Union, High School Coalition and the Black Student Union are the cause of the trouble in the schools, they want the working people to believe that the Panthers are the cause of the trouble in the city. And they want the Panthers in jail. Just like they have to put cops in the schools and suspend kids who are demanding a decent education, they have to use force against the people who are working for all of us. Because the bankers, big real estate owners and big corporations who control the Board of Educaton and the rest of the city don't care about us, their only interest is to keep things "running smoothly."

As high school students we know what it means to be treated like shit. Lonnie Ebb was organizing a Black Student Union chapter at Long Island City High School to try and change that. Now he's in jail. As high school students we have to support him. The **High School Student Union demonstrated to free the 21 Black Panthers at Long Island City High School on Thursday, April 10, and at the criminal court house on Friday, April 11.**

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

BROTHER WILBUR SPEAKS AT MAY DAY RALLY TO FREE HUEY

For the first point, is FREE HUEY NEWTON, can I hear a right on to hat? Right on. I want to say right ere that as far as the Muni railay is concerned, that we have a Black Caucus there to deal with the roblems that are confronting the orkers there. That we found that t was necessary to put a check, a check on the management, a check on he union, a check period. Right on. You see we found that it was necessary to adhere to the needs and he desires of the workers. We found hat this city has been negligent, negligent in the fact that it does not adhere to the passengers. You see all these accidents and all these mishaps that have come about, come about because management and the union of this particular city in regard to the transportation system, has not adhered to the people who transport on that motherfucking system. Right on. So we found by going to the workers, by relating to them, and they have told us to tell you, that we say fuck the management, fuck the union, until they adhere to the needs and the desires of the workers. And we come here to say in full solidarity, with the Black Panther Party, with Huey P. Newton, that the needs and the desires of the people must be adhered to. All I want to finish up by saying is this, all of you people that came here to free Huey P. Newton, I want to hear you say one thing, I want to hear you say FREE Huey, I say, say it again. How you gonna do it? How you gonna do it? PANTHER POWER TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. Right on.

TWLF STATEMENT

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

The Third World Liberation Front, an organization of African, Asian, Latin American, and American students of Third World background is committed to and actively supports the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples.

We have seen as imperative that Princeton University divest from companies in South Africa. Such investments are used to further exploit and degrade the people of South Africa. The apology given by the Administration that such investments constitute a small percent of the business of these corporations and as such, do not play an exploitive role is ludicrous. If these investments are economically insignificant then these firms are in a position to withdraw them all too easily. But they don't. Nor does Princeton. Princeton would not even ask these firms to do so.

Why? Because these investments are imperative for capitalist enterprise and for the capitalist system, the essence of which is production for profit and the accumulation of capital irrespective of the human cost. We never thought that the University would regard it as its task to write apologies for the oppression of South Africans on the ground that its investments play only a small role in this exploitation. But the University is and its administration regards it as, an integral and contributing part of this system. That this is contrary to the human values to which a university should dedicate itself is all too clear.

But the infamy does not stop here. Not only does P.U. engage in this economic exploitation but also in the support and maintenance of the military establishment necessary for the perpetuation and extension of a neocolonial system abroad and a colonial domestic system. Officers are being trained on this campus for the forces in Vietnam. Thanks to the struggle of progressive students, ROTC no longer receives academic credit for the eventual discreditable task of fighting oppressed people and getting killed in the process.

Now the system, in co-operation with the university, gives scholarships to students in ROTC. Abolishing academic credit for ROTC is an attempt by the university to dupe the students. The issue is not credit but the role to which our brethern recruited into ROTC are being assigned at a great cost to themselves, to their life plans after graduation, and in fact, to their very lives, and to the struggle of the of the oppressed for freedom. Our brethren in ROTC are entitled to an education at P.U. through university scholarships, and should not be expected or made to die for a cause as unjust and immoral as the Viet-Nam war. Joining ROTC is not simply an individual choice--no one is entitled to join in the oppression of any people.

Investments in South Africa and training officers for neocolonial wars are not the end of the story either. The university of handling of IDA shows parallel tactics. Evasion, deception, and tokenism. IDA was not abolished. ROTC was not abolished. IDA continues its research, supposedly with severed connection with the university ROTC remains with no credit. In fact, IDA and ROTC remain parts of this campus and the university administration knowingly and conscientiously provides them with a resevoir of personnel.

Whenever such pernicious activities are criticized, the administration forms committees to study and contemplate the question and the net result is invariably a report on the "infinite complexity" of the issue, and the need for "change". But the changes are no changes at all. The same institutions are maintained, and apologies articulated on their behalf in the hope of making them more platable. But we refuse to be misled.

Investment in South Africa goes on; IDA goes on; ROTC goes on. And a new monstrous activity recently raised its head on this campus and elsewhere: research on internal counter-insurgency or less euphemistically: the so-called "riot-control". We consider such research as another systemic manifestation of a power structure which denies self-determination to the third world peoples.

The TWLF denounces the criminal research on riot control at all institutions and declares its full unflinching support to the Black liberation struggle and to its leading vanguard, the Black Panther Party.

We maintain that the university should actively support the struggle for freedom and human emancipation and not the oppression, the brutalization, and de-humanization of our brethren in the U.S., and in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Furthermore, the university has a social role in its immediate community. Princeton University now offers services especially designed for the privileged in the community and elsewhere: a fashionable inn; a theater with programs of no direct relevance to the lives of the underprivileged; physical facilities closed to these whose social class or color does not win the condescending approval of the powers that be. We undoubtedly recall that a Black American youth from the Princeton ghetto was recently harassed and finally arrested from playing pool in the student center. The university's physical facilities and human resources must be used for improving the quality of life in the community regardless of class or color.

TWLF shall endeavor to realize these goals. The evasive responses of the university administration are creating an explosive situation and necessitates that we redouble our efforts in co-operation with progressive individuals and organizations on campus and in the community. Nothing shall dissuade us from the pursuit of our legitimate demands.

As the heroic Vietnamese people have shown, neither the power of the oppressors nor their arrogance can succeed: in the words of brother Huey Newton, the spirit of the people is stronger than the man's technology. IDA, ROTC, war research and the investments may remain but the oppressed peoples shall continue their struggle for freedom. As Third World people, it is our task to fight these institutions on their home ground.

The South African people, and other oppressed peoples, shall arise, destroy their chains, nationalize the riches of their earth, and build a society free from human exploitation. And the chainers will have no profits to count.

Sisters and Brothers: we in the TWLF call upon you to support our efforts for a restructured, free democratic, and progressive university and more importantly and fundamentally, for a truly humane society free from racial oppression and class exploitation.

VICTORY TO THE STRUGGLES OF ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES!

Princeton Third World Liberation Front

April 18, 1969

WE ARE NEW - BUT WE ARE BUILDING

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

POWER AT CORNELL OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN



ITHACA, N.Y.--Black students, armed in self-defense, forced the administration and faculty of Cornell University to back away from repressive policies. Thousands of white students, led by SDS, were mobilized to support the blacks in their showdown with the authorities on this bucolic hilly campus in upstate New York.

The high point of the Cornell drama came on the afternoon of Sunday, April 20, when the black students--all bearing weapons--marched out of the building they had seized and announced that university officials had yielded to their demands. The faculty condemned the administration's appeasement, but when the blacks and white radicals showed that they were prepared for new militant action, the faculty too, reconsidered and gave in.

The struggle had been building up intensively since last December, when black students, fighting for self-determination in the school's curriculum, adopted various guerilla tactics.

On one occasion, they walked into the office of University President James A. Perkins, pointed a toy gun at him, and said "Bang!" They also climbed on tabletops in the cafeteria and went through the library, pulling books down from the shelves.

Six blacks were chosen by the authorities to go before a student-faculty judiciary board to be judged for these acts. They refused to go, and, in accordance with the rules, were immediately suspended.

When their suspension was announced, the 150 members of the Afro-American society went en masse to the judiciary board and presented their reasons why the six blacks didn't show up: 1) there could be no trial by peers, since there were no blacks on the disciplinary panel; and that 2) the university judiciary could not deal fairly with acts of an essentially political nature directed at the university.

SDS supported the blacks' point of view and an educational campaign was carried out on the campus. For the next few weeks, the administration tried to avoid dealing with the issue.

Finally, the judiciary board decided it could try the black students in absentia. The six still didn't appear, and the board voted on April 17 to apply a "reprimand". (The action applied only to three ofthe students, since two had dropped out and charges against another one had been dropped).

Later that evening, a cross was burned outside the black women's cooperative dormitory, and several black students received threatening phone calls.

The immediate issues were clear: the illegitimacy of the judiciary action and the protection of the black community at Cornell against violence.

Just before dawn on Saturday, April 19, about 150 black students seized Willard Straight Hall, the Student Union Building. It was Parents' Weekend at Cornell, and some parents staying in guest rooms inside the Student Union were rousted out of bed and led out of the building.

The blacks, who had developed a good working relationship with SDS, notified them of the action in advance. At 6 a.m., SDS had a meeting and organized a defense line around the building. Later that morning, a squadron of jocks, many of them members of the football-oriented Delta Upsilon fraternity, tried to break into "the Straight," as the Union is known. Only a handful got through the SDS defense, and they were expelled by the blacks in the building. Four people --three assailants and one black student--were hospitalized briefly as a result.

But the jocks promised to return with 300 people. This threat, teamed with more crank phone calls to the Straight, led the blacks to escalate: they decided to bring guns into the building for self-defense.

SDS's Cornell chapter, with 500 members, is one of the largest in the country. On both Saturday and Sunday (April 19-20), they organized support rallies for the blacks, and succeeded in defusing the threat of right-wing action by alternately coaxing and scaring the jocks into passivity.

Some jocks did show up at the Straight, but when they made menacing gestures, a black student appeared, rifle in hand, at a window quickly, and the administration moved to negotiate.

Late Sunday, April 20, an agreement was reached: if the blacks left the building, the university would drop disciplinary actions resulting from the prior guerilla style actions, would grant amnesty for the current building occupation, would agree to provide protection for all black students, men and women, and would agree to investigate the cross-burning.

A massive security guard of 1500 white students was formed to protect the black students during their exit from the Straight. This guard wasn't really necessary, however, since the blacks marched out in military formation, more than a dozen men bearing rifles and shotguns, a few with bandoliers of ammunition, and each of the rest, including the women, armed with a homemade spear--a long stick with a knife fastened to the tip.

The blacks marched to the black women's coop--a ten minute walk --and set up an armed guard at the door. Outside on the lawn, two representatives from the Afro-American Society and two high-ranking university officials signed the accord. The Afro-American Society issued a formal statement thanking SDS for their part in defending the building.

When the blacks walked out of the building, the great "gun debate" began. The guns had been brought into the buidling during the previous night, and even SDS had no idea that there were so many arms. The university authorities were shaken. (Reliable sources reported that if the negotiations had been unsuccessful, the officials were prepared to call in every campus cop, city cop, and more than 100 state troopers. There is no telling what would have happened in that case.)

The white radicals immediately began discussing the gun issue, but except for the objections of a few pacifists, there was support for the use of guns for self-defense. Meanwhile, the blacks ceased brandishing their weapons in public.

The next day, Monday, April 21, Perkins declared the campus to be in a "situation of emergency." He took emergency powers and issued several declarations: any student carrying a gun on campus would be immediately suspended and any non-student carrying a gun on campus would be arrested immediately; any individuals who engaged in coercive actions, such as sit-ins or building occupations, would be suspended or arrested; any organizations advocating "coercive actions would be disbanded.

Eight thousand students filed into Barton Hall gymnasium in the military Science Building to attend a university-wide convocation Monday afternoon. Perkins was the main speaker, but he ducked the real issues.

A few hours later, an emergency faculty meeting was called, and the faculty voted about 700 to 200 to rescind the agreement worked out between the blacks and the administration.

The Afro-American Society, seeing the faculty stand as a betrayal, and reacting to the presence of scores of cops on the campus and in the city of Ithaca, quickly began planning for new action.

SDS called for a meeting that evening. More than 2,000 students attended and listened to speeches by the black students. The group decided that militant action was needed to support the black demands. Curiosity seekers and liberals joined the radicals in resolving to meet again the next night to hear formal proposals.

On Tuesday, April 22, there were 7,000 in Barton Hall. Clearly, many present did not support the blacks and still fewer wanted militant action to be taken right away. At that meeting, some of the blacks spoke about the need for the blacks and whies to fight together.

While the students were talking tough, there was rebellion inside the ranks of the teachers.



OPEN LETTER TO THE DANISH FORIEGN MINISTRY

Sir,

With reference to the recent arrest in New York of 21 members of the Black Panther Party on conspiracy charges and similar acts of oppression against members of the Black Panther Party: We, the Solidarity Committee for the Third World Peoples' Revolutionary Struggles based in Stockholm, and the Solidarity Committee for Black Liberation, Copenhagen, wish to advise your Government of the nature of this oppressive act against the Black Panther Party and its members and against freedom loving peoples everywhere.

We are aware that such action on the part of the power structure is nothing more than a guise, used by the ruling capitalist elite, in order to annihilate any socialist movement based on the peoples' needs.

During the recent visit by Chairman Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party to the Scandinavian countries, he attempted to correct the felonious image of the Black Panther Party as created by the establishment press. Chairman Seale specifically clarified the anti-racistic and purely socialist ideology of the Black Panther Party was received with enthusiasm by many of the Scandinavian peoples, many of whom pledged their solidarity and support to the Black Panther Party.

One aspect of Scandinavian support and solidarity would be to donate funds that could assist the Party in implementing various socialistic programmes now under-way in the black communities. However, due to the excessive legal expenses that have been created by the power structure in its drive of legal persecution against the Black Panther Party, unprecedented in American history, the Government stands as a stubborn obstacle between the people and their basic needs.

These programmes are:

(1) The construction and operation of free health clinics in the black communities that would make available free medical and hospital care for all people in need of medical treatment.

(2) Breakfast for children programme: providing food for all poor children, white or black, who would otherwise go to school hungry.

(3) A non-profit Publishing House that could serve the people in the black communities as well as progressive whites. With a roll press they would be able to publish a daily paper that would enable them to counter the misinformation and lies of the established mass media.

Funds that would normally go into these programmes will now have to be used to pay off the power structure in the name of legal expenses.

As soon as Chairman Seales's tour of Scandinavia was concluded and upon his return to the U.S.A., he was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for conspiracy to incite a riot at the Chicago Democratic Convention last year. Moreover, the next week 21 Black Panthers in New York were victims of a mass arrest and indicted on trumped up conspiracy charges—one of many instances that do not always come the attention of the press and public. The total bail for these 21 Black Panthers has been set at $1,400,000. Today at least 150 Black Panthers are in jail as political prisoners. Their crime: serving the peoples needs.

We therefore petition you, in the name of justice and the spirit of equity, which we believe you stand for, to bring to bear whatever powers of influence and persuasion you have to convince the American Government of the unjustness of their course, and to persuade them to cease immediately the unwarranted harassment of the Black Panther Party and its members.

Connie Matthews
Solidarity Committee for Black Liberation
Copenhagen. 25th April, 1969.

FREE THE N.Y. 21

BAIL MONEY NEEDED

SEND TO

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

BOX 1224

BROOKLYN 11202

160 PIGS PROVOKE RIOT PANTHERS KEEP COOL



TELLING OFF ALIOTO, Attorney Charles Garry, Bobby Seale, Kathleen Cleaver (left to right).
photo by Copeland

It took 160 cops armed with machine guns and tear gas bombs to quiet a Black Panther loudspeaker in the Fillmore Monday.

Sixteen Panthers were arrested and a number of guns illegally seized when the pigs raided the Panther's Fillmore office. The potentially tragic police riot was based on an apparent police complaint that the Panthers didn't have the proper permit for a mobile loudspeaker in the Fillmore streets.

Panther attorney Charles Garry charged at a press conference Tuesday that "this raid was staged by the Mayor as a deliberate attempt to poison the atmosphere at the Huey Newton bail hearing Thursday, and to prevent the proper administration of justice."

A truck was broadcasting information about the rally Monday afternoon when a dozen armed cops approached the Panther headquarters at Fillmore and Eddy. It was about four o'clock. Black Panther Belinda Booker was inside.

Panther Don Cox told the cops they weren't allowed inside the building without a search warrant. He closed the door. The pigs proceeded to act out their movie--kicking the door down, natch.

The pigs leered through the busted door with drawn guns. Cox yelled for the people in the office to take cover. The pigs moves to reel 2: they fired eight tear gas cannisters into the building, and let loose a blast of submachine gun bullets over the heads of bystanders and neighbors.

At no time were any shots fired by Panthers.

The pigs told the straight press they heard the "clicking of weapons" inside. From a street crowded with hundreds of enraged and noisy citizens, the cops said they could hear a .22 calibre rifle cocking inside a building. Sure.

Tear gas bombs exploded inside the office. The Panthers tried to leave by the back door.

"Several sisters were choked up by the gas," Belinda told BARB, "and the brothers were trying to help them, and the pigs fired several shots at Don. He was just trying to help a fainting sister, but he had to drop her on the floor."

Belinda and the others were taken to the pig pen. Most were released within an hour and a half. Assault charges were filed against Don Cox.

"We came back to the street," Belinda said, "and there were Panthers on the street telling people to go home. Kathleen Cleaver was there, and so was Bobby Seale, and we joined them" The SF Chronicle observed Monday that Seale and Kathleen Cleaver "were seen moving about, trying to calm the mob."

Mayor Alioto claimed in the straight press that "The young men who did react so quickly and so well were probably mistaken for Panthers." He went on to accuse the Panthers of "thrusting rifles into the stomach's of cops," and said he was putting an additional 150 pigs on the street starting next week.

"Pig Alioto wasn't there. He's lying," said Belinda in response to the Mayor's allegation that the Panthers tried to incite the people to riot, rather than to disperse them.

And indeed, the Chronicle reported that "Black Panthers were seen trying to persuade the angry blacks to calm down and in one or more incidents rescued whites who were being beaten."

(What are you going to do, Joe, when your own newspapers start to tell the truth?)

In his charge that the raid was planned to prompt a negative decision at the Huey hearing Thursday, attorney Garry called the tactic "harrassment of the worst sort."

"It's about time," he told BARB, "the police department recognize that there is such a thing as presumption of innocence. The Black Panthers are entitled by law to have guns in their homes and places of business, for the protection of themselves and their children. They do not carry weapons on the street and if they do, it is grounds for expulsion."

Referring to Panther efforts to prevent a riot Monday, as well as to long-range Panther social programs, Garry complained that "the Mayor disregards the fact that the work the Panthers are doing today prevents the kind of violence he talks about."

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panthers, added that "instead of giving the Black Panthers credit for having cleaned house - for we expelled at least 100 members in the last 45 days, he's using us for his own political gain."

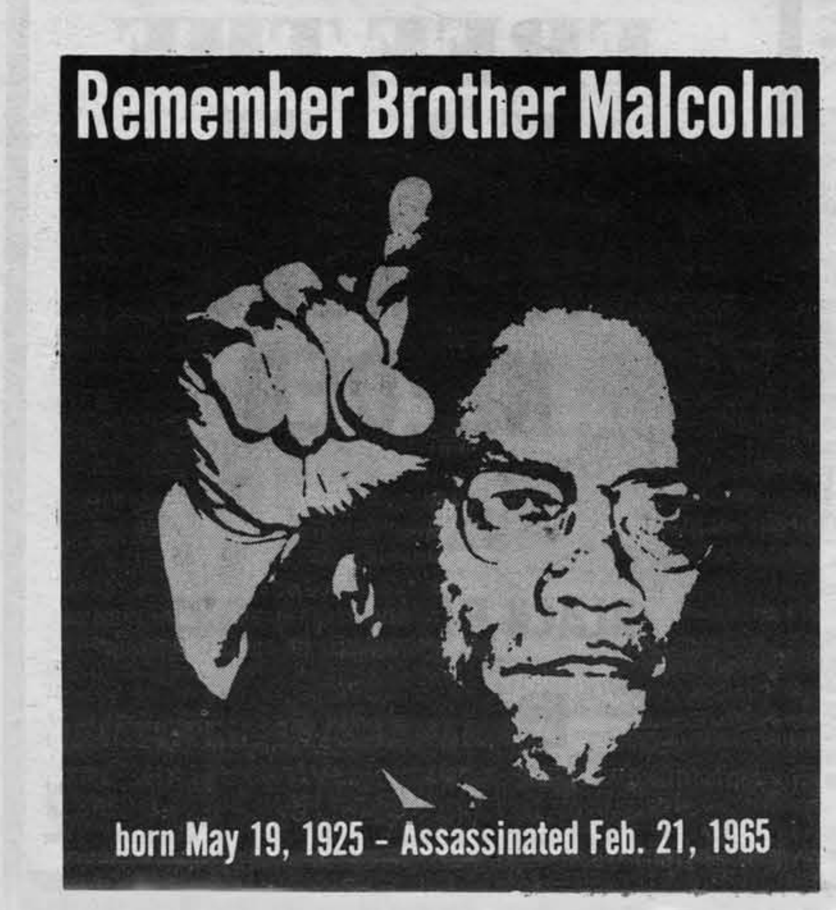
Seale denied police allegations that there were loudspeaker appeals to bring guns to the Free Huey rally.

"Police officers have a habit of lying through their teeth," commented the 60 year old Garry, who has been fighting pigs in courtrooms for decades. "When they're on the witness stand, they move from cheek to cheek."

"I'm going to tell it like Eldridge now," Seale cut in. "Alioto is a damn liar, a crock, a Mafioso. He's booklickin' for the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons to exploit and to thieve - that's Eldridge, I dig that.

"When Alioto attacks the Black Panther Party," Seale concluded, "he is attacking breakfast and children. Because the Panthers get up every morning to feed the hungry Black, Mexican, Chinese, and White children of the community. The Black Panther Party asks Alioto when he is going to support breakfast in the morning before school for hungry children?"





DAVID HILLIARD'S HEARING POSTPONED

BERKELEY — On Tuesday morning (April 22), David Hilliard, Black Panther National Chief of Staff, was greeted by a Berkeley cop outside the municipal courtroom of Judge Mario Barsotti.

"Have you heard that your attorney has collapsed?" the cop asked.

Hilliard did an about face and returned to the lower floor of the stone cavern where his wife Patricia was in touch by phone with the office of attorney Charles R. Garry.

She confirmed the news. Garry had collapsed and had been taken to the hospital. A young man from Garry's staff was on his way and arrived within a few minutes to face Judge Barsotti.

Berkeley's prosecuting attorney was set to proceed with the "hearing to show probable cause" for the arrest of Hilliard and Audrey Hudson on the night of Feb. 25, 1968, when the Berkeley police broke into the home of Bobby and Artie Seale.

Barsotti granted a postponement until 2:00 p. m., when Faye Stender from Garry's staff became the dominant figure in the courtroom.

She placed Hilliard, Garry's client (not her client, she emphasized) on the witness stand. Under oath, the Panther chief said:

"My agreement is with Mr. Garry and I would be breaking the law if I let anyone not of my choice defend me." Later he said that he would submit to arrest and confinement rather than proceed without Garry.

After the testimony by Dr. Carlton Goodlett that Garry was hospitalized, Mrs. Stender won a continuance of the case until June 24.

She also obtained a two week postponement of the serving of a warrant for the arrest of Audrey Hudson, who did not appear.

"Miss Hudson is a victim of tuberculosis and she could be in an institution, we don't know."



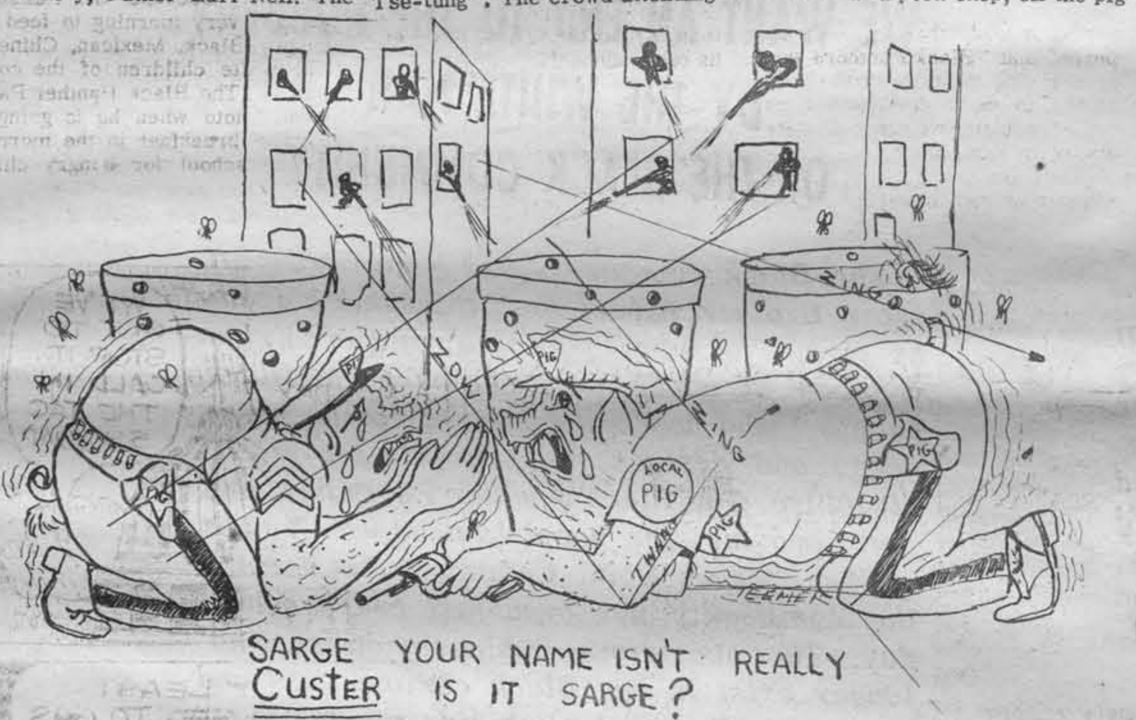
BLACK PANTHER REVOLUTIONARY WEDDING

On May Day, Thursday, May 1st a revolutionary wedding took place. The wedding was to unite in revolutionary matrimony, Black Panther Brother Charles Bursey and Panther Sister Shelly Sanders.

The wedding was the first of its kind here in decadent, racist America. The ceremony was performed at the Church of the Minister of Religion of the Black Panther Party, Father Earl Neil. The Church is located at 27th and West Streets in West Oakland.

The Church is also the site of one of the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children programs. The ceremony was officially carried out by the National Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale. In place of a Holy Bible, Chairman Bobby used the Red Book "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung". The crowd attending the wedding consisted mostly of Panther members and children from the community, who attended the breakfast program every morning.

The marrying couple looked radiantly revolutionary in their Panther uniforms of black and Panther blue. After the ceremony, the united couple were serenaded by the children to the revolutionary song of "We want a pork chop, off the pig".



REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA DENOUNCES RON EVERETT (KARENGA)

FROM: The Minister of State and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of New Africa
TO: Brother Bobby Seale
In the Name of Peace and Power to the People:
Dear Brother Seale,

There was convened in the City of Detroit on April 5, 1969, a meeting of the legislative assembly of the Republic of New Africa.

At this meeting, it was officially reported that Ron Karenga was directed to explain the accusation and his responsibility, if any, in the action that ended in the death of two Panther Brothers on the campus at U.C.L.A.

Karenga, having failed to respond, was removed from the position of Minister of Education of the RNA. Please bear in mind that Ron Karenga was appointed to this position but the appointment was never approved, neither by the cabinet of RNA nor by the legislative assembly and therefore held on official position in RNA.

Speaking in the position of Minister of State and Foreign Affairs for RNA, I have always felt that Ron Karenga represented a great deal less than the best interests of the Black Liberation struggle against domestic colonialism, white racism and world - wide imperialism. Therefore, on the platform during the May 9 week of the Political Prisoners, I would not hesitate to state such a position (on my attitude) in the strongest possible language, concerning Ron Karenga.

While as representative of Republic of New Africa the above is my clear-cut position of Ron Karenga, I am compelled to acknowledge some apprehensions with regard to the direction the Panthers are taking politically. I refer specifically to the telephone call from Cleveland in which, as I have been told, you indicated a willingness to cooperate if the Republic of New Africa was excluded, or if the Republic of New Africa denounced Ron Karenga. Since I do not believe that there can ever come a point in time when the political differences between blacks will overshadow the four hundred years of inhuman treatment, stemming from whites, I do not believe that we can presume to cooperate with whites at the exclusion of blacks.

If there are serious political differences between the Panthers and the Republic of New Africa, I do not believe they are more serious than the differences between the blacks and whites in America. I believe there is room for discussion.

Minister of State and foreign affairs,
Yours for Power to the People

Wilbur Grattan

GLOBAL VIEWS RESPONSE TO JULIUS LESTER

April 25, 1969

Dear Brother Lester:

Your most recent column (Guardian, April 19th) is one which gives sham support to the most advanced elements of the Black Liberation Movement to cover real betrayal. It is the latest of your continual championing of the interests of the black bourgeoisie within the liberation movement now brought forth under the signboard of "revolutionary" and "nationalism". It is dishonest and hypocritically aimed at deceiving Black revolutionaries that you support them while at the same time you use a surrogate to vent your hatred of the most progressive and far-sighted elements in the struggle for national liberation of the colony of Black America--the Black Panthers.

Your pretensions of being critical of SDS for "intervening" in the Black struggle on the grounds of their being a "white organization" must be placed in its proper perspective of rank hypocrisy when it is viewed in context of your own role as hatchet-man for the Guardian. Is it not "white-controlled"? But that really is not the issue, and you as well as we, know it. For a long time you have pretended that the Black Liberation Movement was an amorphous and nebulous grouping which was somehow to be viewed "above classes". This was basically because of your own petty bourgeoisie orientation which led you to support the "left" intergrationists (even in your latest column you counterpose the (correct) Panther program to among others, National Welfare Rights and SCLC neither of which have ever called for "revolution in the mother country" or "liberation in the Black colony."

Now, because of the political needs of U.S. imperialism, you are forced to come forward in the defense of cultural nationalism which again is the ideology of the black bourgeoisie and label anyone who criticizes it a "racist". Perhaps we had better start with Chairman Mao, seeing as how that motley crowd of revisionists whom you work for (the Guardian) have to quibble about sino-soviet events; but it offers proof of class forces recognizing their friends and attacking their enemies. Because of the complexities of the Black Liberation Movement, it becomes difficult for you to come out in the open and carry out your counter-revolutionary line. Therefore you must try and split the Liberation Movement indirectly. The garbage you are peddling in this latest article is a rehash of the 'white controlled" Panthers, which other counter-revolutionaries have peddled before you took up the cudgel. This latest attack on the Black Panther Party is unfortunate but it is a continuation of your snide criticisms ofthem in the past. Criticisms which it must be said were not offered in a sincere or brotherly fashion.

For one who has never taken a position on the question of National Liberation in the past--beyond the "movement"--your latest column is a curious mixture of reactionary nationalism ofthe type put forth by the Wardens and Karengas masquerading as progressive nationalism and even internationalism. For whatever the shortcomings of SDS--and any serious organization will certainly have some--the attitude of a genuine revolutionary toward that organization is generally formed by the attitude that the subject organization takes toward its own mistakes. SDS appears to take a serious attitude toward its previous line and is attempting to correct it. On the other hand, your own attitude of late has taken a narrow turn which does not promote INTERNATIONALISM but veers on the edge of racism. So you see, while we have patiently waited for you "to come home", endured your attacks on the vanguard of the Black Revolution in the hope that you would unite with the Black working class and the broad masses of Black people; you have instead refused to criticize your past mistakes and are rushing head-long into the arms of the counter-revolutionaries.

The touchstone of one's attitude toward Black Revolution in America has to be one's attitude toward the BLACK PANTHER PARTY. No amount of glib antecedents such as "those Blacks who are not Panthers, which is most" can cover over the clear and concise CLASS approach to the question of Black Liberation in the interests of the Black Working CLASS and the broad masses of Black people. The Panthers correctly understand the INTERNATIONALIST ASPECT of this question which Lester obviously doesn't along with "those Blacks who have disagreements with the Panthers" (Lester). As Black workers, we would have to ask, who are these "other Blacks'? Black capitalists? Cultural nationalists? "Left" Integrationists? Reactionary Nationalists? Uncle Wilkins and his National Association for the Advancement of CERTAIN People to government jobs? Oh yes, Lester has yet to blow down ANY TOM! --What an accident.

Come on Lester, you raised the question, who are these "other Blacks"? If they are any of the above, Black America is indeed fortunate to have a BLACK PANTHER PARTY and Julius Lester be damned which he should be in any event from the hatchet job he has carried out "from his side of the tracks"--National Guardian & Co. Dig Lester--"The Black Panthers ... should have the support and aid of SDS (it) is indisputable."--then, "No white organization has the right to support revolutionary nationalism because no white can be a revolutionary nationalist." Evidently, Lester has never heard of "INTERNATIONALISTS", which is certainly not the case at all which brings hi motives down front. He is doing a job for the bourgeoisie, which leads him not only to these self-contradictory positions, but to outright hostility to the question of "revolution in the mother country and national liberation in the colony."

But Julius Lester has to be viewed in hi proper context--a petty bourgeois intellectual who hates the Black workers and masses and who serves as the Guardian's alter ego. It is no accident that Lester's criminal article happens to be the longest in recent Guardian history, takes over one full page and is neatly balanced by an "editorial" "Support the Panthers." Politics have a way of being akin to a telegraph system. It is impossible to take a dual position of support to the domestic struggle against oppression and hostility to the international class brothers of the oppressed.

Sooner or later, the piper has to be paid. So it is with Julius Lester's anti-Panther, anti-Black Revolution article. We support the Black Panther Party wholeheartedly.

GLOBAL VIEWS
W.H. Sherman

REPLY TO RIESEL

Recently there appeared an article in the racist Oakland Tribune, obviously written by a racist by the name of Victor Riesel. In this trash, called an "article", Riesel states that the Black Panther Party is receiving funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

This pig of a writer states that this money is in the amount of millions of dollars. The Black Panther Party would not waste pen nor paper in repudiating such an absurd bunch of garbage; what we do have to say is to the people and that is that some months ago, two pigs (and black pigs at that) came to the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party. They stated that they were from Washington, D.C. They stated that they were representatives of the power structure's OEO programs. They told the Chairman of the Black Panther Party that the organization could qualify to receive federal funds. They stated that these funds could reach into the area of 2 million dollars. The Chairman said "Right on, now what's the catch?" These "agents" stated that the Party was a fine organization; the only stipulation that Washington made was that the Panthers should put down their guns. the Chairman stated that if they wanted to give the Black Panther Party some money; right on; but the Party would not disarm itself! In fact, the money would be used to buy more guns and arm the Black Community.

The agents said this would not work. The Chairman's reply was, "Get the fuck out of our office and go back to your slave-masters".

One can only guess where Victor Riesel gets his information. It would seem to the Black Panther Party that the agents sent out to co-op the Party and try to buy it off reported to their masters, "Mission accomplished" and pocketed the money and kept it for themselves, if Washington is missing some millions of dollars.

Dynamite



BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

The Breakfast for School Children program was kicked off on Monday, April 14, at two churches in the Black Community of Kansas City, Missouri. Deputy Minister of Information Bill Whitfield and Deputy Minister of Labor Tommy Robinson have worked very hard in getting the plans together for the Program. The Missouri Chapter of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY has combed Kansas City's Black Community and outlying business areas asking for food donations, money, equipment, churches and recreation centers in which to the breakfasts, and volunteers.

The Black Panther Party has also hounded the avaricious businessmen infesting the Black Community, who rob, steal, and fuck over Black People. Some of them have come across with donations but other jive-time corner grocery stores charging space-age prices for stone-age quality food have refused to cooperate. Therefore we call on the masses of oppressed peoples to kill this worm of economic exploitation.

The large businesses in the city such as Sealtest Dairies, Foremost Dairies, and Country Club Dairies have had the audacity to say that the price of milk is too high for them to donate milk. Bullshit! Who sets the prices? The Kroger chain store refused to donate food or otherwise cooperate with the people's revolutionary program because they claimed they already donate food to Soul Inc., another Black organization which is doing their thing to take care of the people's needs. But that is still a cop-out. The People will also deal with this antagonistic contradiction.

On Monday (April 14) about 30 children showed up for the breakfast at St. Stephen Baptist Church and Paseo Baptist Church. At the time of this writing about 450 children are being fed daily! Power to the People!

This revolutionary program will be a good way to show the oppressed masses of Black, Third World, and poor White peoples that they are the strength of the Revolution. Not only does this Breakfast program show them their innate strength and make them flex their muscles but the program takes care of an immediate need -- feeding the children!!

Right now we are making an increased effort to get volunteers from the masses to run the program. This is the People's thing!

However the Board of Education has different ideas. When the Breakfast program started the School Board immediately came up with $30,000! with which to attempt to co-opt the people's program. They have had this money for years but the people did not know anything about it until now. Where did the School Board get this money? Recently a school levy was defeated (2/3 majority required) and allegedly the school system needs the money in order to function for the next year. Yet they can come up with $30,000 when the BLACK PANTHER PARTY starts a revolutionary program. Money won't buy this program because the people own it, the Dollar being a funky tool of racist Capitalism! The people can only guess what the pig structure intends to do with this money. Start a competing breakfast program?? If they do you can believe it will be with surplus commodity food -- powdered milk, powdered eggs, powdered pig! But the Black Community needs soul food -- FRESH eggs, FRESH milk, FRESH fruit, FRESH meat. THE PIG WILL FAIL!! RIGHT ON!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Deputy Chairman
PETE O'NEAL

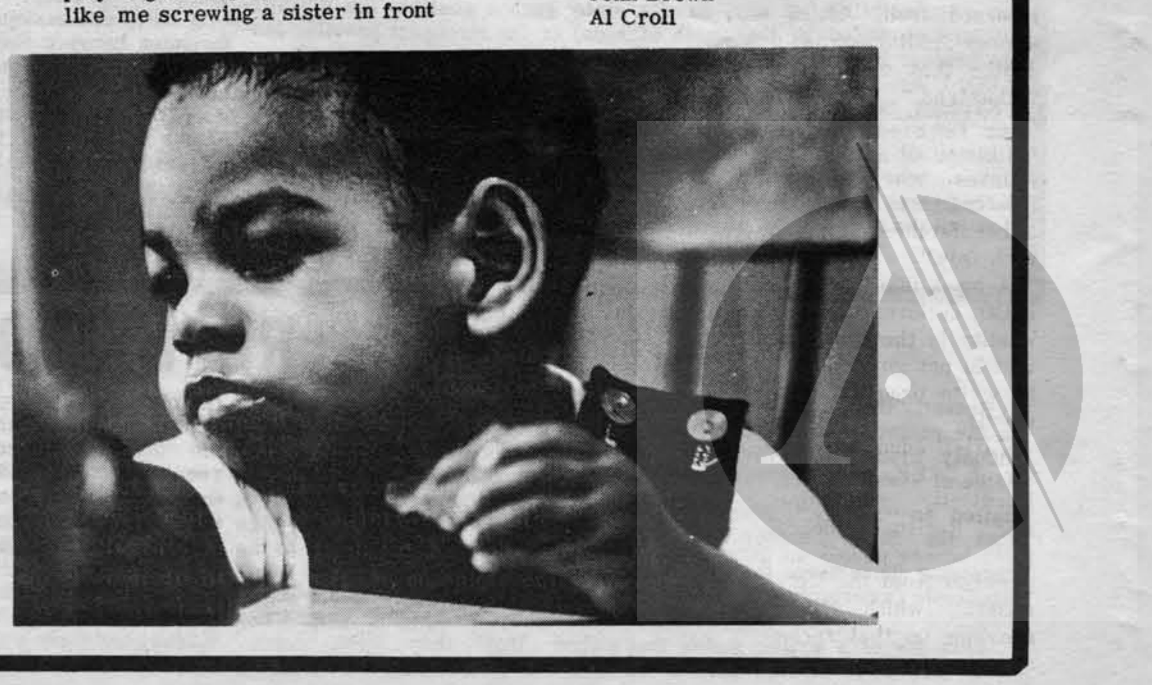
WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The Black community has been ripped off again Brother Alvert Joe Linthcome's death by pigs. The same pigs who refused to give a piece of bacon to the masses of Black people, who were not getting their basic needs and desires met by this pig power structure. The Black Panther Party has gone forth and met the people's need with forces of the Hunters Point Community in serving the community hot breakfast every school day. The avaricious businessman can no longer exist in our Black communities and we mean all nickel slick jive monkey a -- businessmen.

That's just like Allan & Sons Meat Company, dig this. Here are some gully-snipers that has one of the largest meat operations in the City and the ordors that come from these racists dog's company is enough to knock an elephant out, so when members of the Party contacts these beasts about the Breakfast for School Children Program for donations, the dog pig didn't give up a link, do you hear me? Not even a promise. People, it's crystal clear these avaricious businessmen don't have the interest of the people in mind at all, you know like there is plenty meat at the bottom of the hill. Enough meat to serve the people's needs but the people are supposed to play right on past that. It's just like me screwing a sister in front of a crowd of brothers and telling them they don't supposed to want to engage in no screwing, how silly does that sound? How can these punks believe that everything is here on earth to meet the people's needs and the people's needs are not being filled or met. That's his butt with his finger stuck in it. The people's needs must be met by any means necessary and it ain't no bull-shit.

power to the people
black power to black people
POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

by
John Brown
Al Croll



RACE-OR-CLASS DEBATE RAGES AMONG "WHITE ORGANIZERS"

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Members of many groups working among white people across the nation met at Highlander Center for three days in early March. The gathering had been stimulated by IFCO, the Interreligious-Foundation for Community Organizing.

The 50 persons present tried to decide whether racism is a disease in itself or a symptom of a deeper disorder. White Southerners of working-class origin insisted that racial division is a means of social control, invented and used by the people who own and run the South and the nation.

The conference set up a continuations committee of three men and three women to try to form a national organization to tie together the work of all the groups. The equal division by sex resulted from proposals by a caucus of the women present.

The conference had opened with a statement by Frank Joyce, Detroit, national director of People Against Racism (PAR). He said: "We as whites must seek to make a revolution. We aspire to do this because we have no other option. This society hasn't any idea how to distribute its wealth; it does know how *not* to distribute it. There is no courage, no humanity available to us within this society. It is only in struggle against this society that we find our courage and humanity.

"It is a little presumptuous and pretentious for us to talk about revolution simply because we've been brought up to believe that revolutions only take place in deodorants. We are not at a turning point; we are trying to bring about a turning point."

"Why white organizing in the U.S. in the Nixon regime?" Joyce asked.

"As we talk about revolution we must talk about counter-revolution. It has the energy, spirit and dynamism of the nation. The country is living under a covert, subtle blend of facism. Where is our (the movement's) anti-police organization to stop the police? One becomes a revolutionary when one believes that reform is impractical. Stopping repression is reformist — to stop repression you have to take state power. Who here can think of that?"

Joyce called racism the fatal flaw in the society. "Our major problem is to deal with the idea of race, even more than the idea of class," he declared. "Even whites in the movement are tired of the demands of blacks, and so is the general society. We must develop a strategy to cope with this mood in the nation."

The first reactors to Joyce's statements agreed with him. Charles Bevel (Hauser Institute and SCLC staff member), who returned from Africa a year ago, said: "Racism has profound depths that most whites don't understand." He said he encountered discrimination in Brazil, the USSR, and China, "three countries who supposedly have resolved their racism. People at the conference are not concerned with this."

A black man, Lou Gothard of IFCO, declared that "there is a vitality in the black community that is not going to be affected by white tiredness of black demands."

Carl Braden, executive director of SCEF, said, "I challenge practically everything Joyce said. Racism is not the fatal flaw; he has picked up the propaganda from the Kerner Commission, which is trying to convince us that racism is the cause instead of the effect of our problem.

"The problem is the economic system under which we live. Racism, poverty, war are the symptoms of that system. Industrialists and big landowners have always used race in the South to divide people and make more profits; now they are using it nationally."



Braden insisted that any organizing of white people must be done with the aim of forming coalitions with black people; otherwise, there is danger of forming groups which will bolster racism. He said that SCEF workers keep this always in mind when working with white people.

Bevel said, "No matter how radical blacks get, they are not going to bring about a revolution—we don't have the numbers, the economic power; whites must make the revolution, they are the only ones with the strength." But "white people are uptight about blacks. Where is the counterforce to Mayor Daley and his support? That is the reality of what is happening."

Dale Richardson, Center for Inner City Structure, Chicago, urged that white people be organized along ethnic lines. She said: "The U.S. is made up of tribes—Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Irish, Jews, etc., and should be organized accordingly. "People's primary identification," she said, "is not with their class, but with ethnic groups. Only by breaking down the white community into more relevant groups—tribes—will we get a better conception of a community."

Male Chauvinism

When she finished, one man said, "Now we've heard from the graduate school." He was immediately attacked by another woman, who said Miss Richardson's ideas wouldn't have been attacked were she not a woman. He responded by saying, "I'd attack that tribalism stuff even if she were a man." "That's a male-chauvinist remark," she shot back.

Bob Zellner, New Orleans, Director of the GROW project of SCEF, said, "I think a lot of people retreat into pessimism, adventurism, theorizing, academics, because there is a real reluctance on the part of people to go out and confront real people and see what can be done with this problem. Ideological discussion—theorizing—has importance, but only in conjunction with real work that you are doing.

"One thing you need to talk about is how do you *organize*—how do you get to 2,000 people with your theories? We've got to do some pruning; separate the wheat from the chaff; separate those people who want to talk and those who want to work. I'm not in anti-racist work; I'm trying to organize a movement."

Braden added, "You've got to have guts to free people. If you don't have it and you want to talk to yourself, then you should abandon your projects and quit kidding yourself."

Doug Youngblood, a white Alabamian from the Poor People's Embassy, asked, "What is white? There are millions of whites who ain't got a blonde, blue-eyed wife and a convertible and eating Post Toasties for breakfast. I'm sick of hearing crap like that. I'm not that type of white, neither are millions of others.

"I think it's ridiculous to go into a community and say I'm fighting racism. I want to establish a socialist America. I want a just and a decent society and you can't have that under capitalism. I'm sick of middle-class people defining the problems and tactics for me."

Charles Bevel, a native of Mississippi, added: "Black people are under the illusion that white people are free. Capitalists will always use race to destroy any coalition-organizing work."

The debate on racism got hotter when a black consultant to the conference, Dr. Carl Fields of Princeton University, delivered a speech in which he stated that racism is the basic problem of the society.

"The Founding Fathers worked out definitions for humanness and non-humanness," he said. ". . . if the color of your skin was white, you were human, if black, you were non-human. Black feeling, expression, ideas are rated by white standards. This has been acted on over and over in the consciousness of people and it becomes rooted.

"The systems that white people use in their everyday activities are rooted in racism, and you can't help yourself. Anything you do in your normal lives, you are a participant in a racist society."

He was not questioning the sincerity of the white organizer, he said, he merely wanted to impress on them the immensity of racism in the country. He wanted white organizers "to be conscious that they are racist 24 hours a day—that's where it's at."

Fred James, Louisville, of the National Organizing Committee, told Fields, "You are missing the whole point when you overlook the economic reasons and class structure. In your speech you said police brutality is racism; how do you explain police brutality against whites? How do you explain Chicago? Until you attack the whole system and unless we organize around a class basis against the system, we are not getting anywhere."

Whites Equally Exploited

Youngblood agreed. "I'm from southern Alabama and my people are just as exploited as blacks. This man (Fields) is saying that his degradation is unique because he's black — I say that's bullshit. My people have been just as degraded. Black people ain't going to get free by putting them into the belly of the monster that's devouring us all!"

An organizer from Durham's ACT project, Lawrence Kelly, said, "I grew up in East Texas and I was aware of a prejudice against poor whites before I was aware of a prejudice against Negroes."

Finally Bob Zellner asked Dr. Fields, "Do you believe in the capitalist system?" Fields laughed, said he had to catch a plane, and exited.

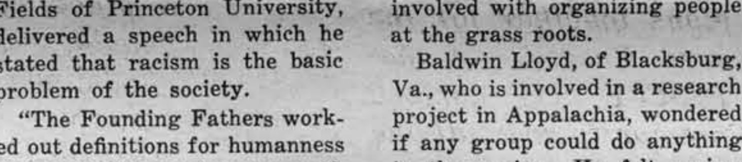
Eventually people got around to actual work in which they were involved. Some of this dealt with research, some of it took the form of staff workers without a constituency making demands upon an institution, and too little work was actually involved with organizing people at the grass roots.

Baldwin Lloyd, of Blacksburg, Va., who is involved in a research project in Appalachia, wondered if any group could do anything in the region. He felt racism was very strongly entrenched.

"The solution to Appalachia lies outside of Appalachia," he said. "Appalachia is a colony exploited from the outside. Change will come only with a national groundswell such as we've had on civil rights and the war in Vietnam."

Karen Mulloy, Prestonsburg, Ky., of the Southern Mountain Project of SCEF, challenged the statement that racism is so entrenched in the region. She said that, as an organizer, she has seen a lot of progress across racial lines.

"The system has injected racism into the mountains in the last 10 years," she declared. "The racism is a tactic, not a natural thing. The solution to Appalachia is the solution of the U.S. It isn't going to come from outside. The spark must come from inside. The total solution, I believe, is the abolition of the capitalist system."



PARTICIPANTS at recent conference on organizing in the white community (photos by Karen Mulloy).

Frank Adams, coordinator of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, talked about his efforts to persuade St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Richmond to do something about slums. Adams said the chief slumlords in the city attend the church and the church itself owns $50 million worth of tax-exempt property.

"The church is no better than any corporation in its pursuit of profits," he said. Adams' activities were the result of a staff organization and he said he had no constituency. He did point out that Vistas are working on community organizing in conjunction with the program.

Anibal Solivan, a Puerto Rican from New York, criticized the practice of working with Vistas. "These Vista missionaries go into a neighborhood for a year and then leave, and they make my job more difficult when I try to convince people that organizing projects take 20, 30 years," he said.

On the final morning of the conference, the whole question of freedom for women exploded in the midst of the gathering. The nine women present met separately in caucus, and later informed the men that they felt the conference had ignored them as people and had refused to deal with the question of how women are used as tools in racism and exploitation.

They made three specific demands: (1) that, as representatives of 51 per cent of the human race, women be given 50 per cent of the places on the continuations committee of the conference and any other committees; (2) that criteria for inclusion of women's groups in future conferences be determined by the women's caucus, and (3) that at the next conference there be separate men's and women's caucuses and then a plenary session to discuss male chauvinism and racism.

Much discussion—and tension—followed. But the demands of the women were actively supported by several of the men present. Finally they were all approved.

No "Leaders"

One interesting discussion developed when the men wanted the women to name their three representatives to the continuations committee immediately. The women said their philosophy held that individuals should not be projected as "leaders" or spokesmen, that they were all leaders together—and that they would choose their representatives for any given meeting depending on geographic location and convenience.

One man observed that this was a good philosophy that the men might do well to adopt themselves — and the women won this point too.

The three-day conference had a life of its own as most conferences do. People struggled with their concepts, their goals. People agreed and disagreed about the tactics needed to deal with the enemy. Some sought to put a label on the enemy, some shied away from doing this.

Frustration, hope, despair, optimism, pessimism were alternating moods. But if the Highlander conference had a theme, it was put well by the Center's director, Myles Horton: "How do we transfer the power of the rulers to those that are ruled?"

K CLEAVER AT MAY DAY RALLY



FREE HUEY, ( ) This is the most beautiful demonstration and gathering of black and white and revolutionary people. The Black Panther Party has ever had the honor to preside at. All power to the people is becoming a reality, because the people have come out here to stand for hours, to stand if necessary for days, in front of these pig court buildings to demand that Huey P. Newton be set free. right on. There's no way that the pig can continue to lie and say that the Black Panther Party doesn't represent anything, that the people don't support the Party, or that the people don't want Huey P. Newton set free. This is a concrete proof that that's a lie, this is a concrete proof that the people are demanding that Huey P. Newton be set free. Right on. It's not only here in San Francisco, I'd like to call this pig central. We're on the steps of the federal pig building, across the street from the state of California pig building, and around the corner from city hall pig building. We're surrounded by pigs, they're on the roof, they're in the building, they're in uniform style. Strolling around in city hall they got the F.B.I. the tactical squad, and anything else they can muster, away from the Mission district up here right now. right on. Even so, they're still dying, (right on). The people have gathered together not only here in San Francisco, in front of this federal building, but in Chicago in front of their federal building, in New York in front of their federal building, and in Los Angeles before their federal building. So I want to hear them say one more time that the Black Panther Party doesn't represent the black community. Who represents the black community, it's not these pigs. This delay that we're being subjected to, today the pigs say they need more time. Well, what do the people say? They've had four hundred years to listen to the demands of black people for freedom and they haven't made up their minds yet. They've had two years to listen to the demands of the people for freeing Huey Newton, and they haven't made up their minds yet. So we don't have to wait for them to make up their minds, no more. We make up our own minds, (right on) and the people standing here, I hope your minds are made up. Let me see your signs. right on, right on, FREE HUEY ( ) FREE HUEY FREE HUEY and all people right on. People have been working to free Huey ever since Huey P. Newton was first shot. In October 1967, just as hard as Huey P. Newton was working to free black people in '66 when he started the Black Panther Party.

One of the people that worked the hardest, has spent time in jail, been shot at, and had to split from these pigs' murderous gas chambers that they call penitentiaries was Eldridge Cleaver, and those pigs up in the court room, had the audacity to give a reason for not giving bail to Huey, well look what happened to Eldridge. I think they're crazy, I think the pigs of the power structure have lost their minds. And these people, they're terrified of people, and even more terrified of organized people. They cannot tolerate to see thousands and thousands of people standing for hours waiting to hear what they're gonna do for Huey P. Newton. right on. They can't stand it, that means they can't stand the people. That means they can't stand justice. That means they can't stand freedom. And if they can't stand none of that, then we can't stand them. right on. We have no use for them, they're fossils, they are vipers, they're dogs, they're snakes. They have all different kinds of names and uniforms, but like Bobby Seale said, "the pig, is a pig, is a pig" right on. They say they need, they say they need, no, I don't need no water, I need some rest, I have a little young Rage they call it that's been practising Karate all day (laughter). But anyway, they say they need two or three or four days to make up their minds about the laws that they've been learning for four hundred years, about Huey P. Newton. They can't make up their minds in the face of the people, they can't make up their minds now, you know why? 'cause they scared of the people. They're doing some the brothers in New York call oinking in the face of the people. right on. Those pigs up there are oinking in the face of the people. The people don't know how to oink, but there are some other things that we know how to do in front ofthe pigs other than stand up and hold our signs. Other than shout power to the people, and other than raise the Red Book. These signs, and these books, and standing here are acts that are symbolic, they symbolize what we feel. But not only do we feel that, we understand what it means. And not only do we understand it, we are moving to be in a position to apply it. The Black Panther Party has been attempting to apply our Program ever since it began. And fools come up with their little tape recorders wanting to know what constructive programs have you done, what have you applied. And we tell them ifthe pigs would leave us alone, we'd apply all Ten Points, coming up with number one, We want power to the people. We want power to determine the destiny of our own black community. First we got to have the power to determine the destiny of one black man, Huey P. Newton. We have that power, we have that power. It's the first thing that we have to know. That the power to free Huey is not only in our hands, it's ONLY in our hands. Only in our hands. If we want to see Huey P. Newton on these steps, if we want to see Huey P. Newton on this street, if we want to see Huey P. Newton out of that freak show they have down at Los Padres, they call it the men's colony or some shit like that. WE gone have to get him out ofthere. right on. We gone have to pull together what we started today, a people's united front against the pigs. There's only one kind of person who wants to keep Huey P. Newton locked up, and that's the pigs. If you know anybody that don't want Huey set free he's the enemy, he's a pig, right on. Because Huey P. Newton, Huey doesn't want to come out on these streets so he can get high, and talk crazy, and walk around in some dirty clothes, and act a fool. Like half these people are doing anyway. That's not what Huey wants to be out here for. Huey wants to be out here so he can survive the leadership to the people's revolution. So he can take this country and change it, turn it upside down, and put the last first, and the first last. right on. And the people say, what shall we do, how do we move, when do we act. They've given Huey P. Newton two years to sit up and figure that shit out. They just making Huey P. Newton stronger and stronger and stronger. And every day that he spends in the penitentiary, like every day he spends in the streets, he's devoting all his time to thinking about how to free the people, in order to make this country fit to live in. Not only for black people, but for all people, we are black people, we start with black people. We relate to our own people first, but people are people, and you can't have freedom for one kind of person without having freedom for the other. You can't have justice for one kind of people, and not have justice for the others. And you can't have any liberty for any kind of people if all the people don't have liberty. Everybody knows that all the Everybody knows that all the people don't have liberty, all the people don't have freedom, all the people don't have justice, and all the people don't have power, so that means that none of us do. None of us do. And Huey P. Newton recognizes that, and those pigs recognize that too. The fact that they keep Huey P. Newton locked up, the fact that they so terrified to let him have the right to bail, is only a tribute to the power and strength of Huey P. Newton and the Black anther Party which he organized. Huey P. Newton has been in jail for the past two years, he's been away from the bay area since September of 1967, and what has that stopped, that stopped Huey P. Newton from working, but it didn't stop anybody else who's got two legs that can stand on the ground and brains that they can think with, and two eyes that they can see what's going on. And all these people out here, there's enough people right here to do the right thing in the right way, in an organizational manner to free Huey, you dig it. right on. These pigs don't know what to do. Attempting to kill Huey was not enough, running Eldridge out was not enough. Killing Bunchi Carter, and John Huggins, and Bobby Hutton, and Weldon Armstead and George Bassket, and Albert Lithscomb, and all the other black people and Panthers that they admit killed, that wasn't enough. Locking up 21 Panthers in New York, that wasn't enough, they're having a grand jury investigation in New York now to get more charges on more people. It's the Harlem chapter that they're trying to lock up. When I was in New York with the Harlem chapter, I was talking with the brothers and sisters in the Party there, I told them that they can't tolerate, they can't deal with black people in Harlem organized. But they got 2,000,000,000 black people jacked up in two square blocks. They can't even deal with them unorganized. And those 21 people, those 21 Black Panthers, men and women, that are in jail in New York, are there to give the others the freedom to organize and move. Huey P. Newton is in jail, not because of what he did or what he wanted. Because of what he tried to do for all the people, what he wanted for all the people. And all the people must unite and move to free him, so we can continue what we were doing without any interruption from these pigs. They're starting in San Francisco, a federal grand jury investigation, they'recrazy. The same day that Huey goes to court for hi bail hearing they gone start the last day ofthe grand jury investigating the Black anther Party. They got to have a whole new jury. Got to call the people back, and go through all these changes so they can come up and indict us on the Smith act. Which is something about trying to overthrow the government through the use of force. I think these pigs should be indicted for the Smith Act, right on, 'cause they trying to bring down the government through the use of force, right on. Who's using violence and organized force? (reply) the pigs. For what, to suppress the people. When those fascist troops moved down on Fillmore street, there was a thousand people watching them, it was about 200 of them. and they wasn't invited, nobody asked them to come. They came down there like they was in Vietnam, they came with helicopters. They came with AR16, they came with M14, and submachine guns. That's organized force and violence. And they not coming down there to establish the government, they coming down there to murder Black Panthers and destroy this rally. They coming down there to prevent the people of this area from knowing what's happening to Huey Newton, and supporting the Black Panther Party. And if you support the people, and the Black Panther Party, and Huey P. Newton's freedom, you should stop them from doing this. And I don't care all you pigs lined up there with your little shirts and ties, you can look and listen all you want it ain't gon stop nothing. right on. ain't gon stop nothing.

They killed John Huggins, three weeks after his baby was born, he has a baby daughter. They murdered Bunchie Carter, and three days ago, he had a baby son, another Bunchie. They run off Eldridge, and in three months he'll have another one here. So do what you want to do right on. But the people are gonna have their freedom, the people are gonna see Huey P. Newton on the street. I say, I have this feeling, it's an intuition, I don't know what, maybe 'cause I'm tired of waiting on Huey to come out. I have to go to the hospital in a few months and I don't want to see Huey in no hospital. Huey Newton is coming out in 1969, right on, right on, We don't have no more time, these pigs are fixin to lock up this whole motherfucking surface with fascism. right on. We can't have no more rallies like this much longer. We turned this over to people's square for one day, but they don't even want us to have that. They don't even want the people to stand on their own federal government property, cause they don't belong to us, they belong to the pigs. And as long as this shit belongs to the pigs, we not gon get nothing. We aren't gonna get nothing, and you ain't gone get it by asking, you ain't gone get by going to court, you ain't gone get by standing around looking crazy. Ain't gone get it until we organize the power of the people, and put that into one coherent force. So that when our demands are not met, as Huey P. Newton said, "there will be a political consequence." Huey P. Newton said, in 1966, when he first organized the Black Panther Party "that the racist dog, pig, police-

See page 11, col. 3

FIVE L.A. PANTHERS BUSTED

By RON RIDENOUR

LOS ANGELES—What started out as a routine traffic citation has resulted in the arrest of five members of the Black Panther party here on charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

The arrests, similar in pattern to the San Francisco police attack this week on Black Panther headquarters there, appeared to confirm Panther charges that they are being subjected to an escalated national attack by police forces.

The five booked here on the conspiracy charge are John Armore, 20; John W. Washington, 23; Byrron Bartlett, 19; James Lee, 18; and Charles James, 19.

ILLEGAL TURN

Police claim the whole incident began early on the morning of Friday, April 25, when two cruising police officers saw a car make an illegal u-turn on 103rd street in Watts.

Police say they pursued the car to Black Panther headquarters where they saw the two occupants of the car run inside. Another police car saw this aspect of the situation and drew up outside the Panther's Watts branch at 1810 East 103rd street.

The police version holds that one of the officers in the second car, Patrolman Bernard L. Loeb, entered the Panther headquarters, and that one of the defendants, Washington, drew a pistol on him.

At that point, the police say, Loeb's partner, Patrolman Roland E. Drouin, who was outside, came to Loeb's rescue — creating a diversion that enabled Loeb to wrestle the .45 caliber pistol from Washington.

Drouin's act of diversion, the police say, was to smash the window of the storefront office.

The Panther version is at variance with the police story.

PANTHER VERSION

At a press conference after the incident Raymond Masai Huett, deputy minister of information and Panther theoretician, said, "The office was open when the pigs arrived. They busted the windows without need. Once inside the pigs arrested the brothers on a trumped up charge of 'conspiracy to commit murder'. The brothers were not armed. The two Panthers in the car stood outside with the traffic pigs all the time and showed them their licenses.

"What this is really all about is the pigs are out to smash the people's vanguard.

"On the one hand, they use total repression, on the other cooption — like this 'Friends of Watts' breakfast program.

"The pig government brings in money, movie stars and food to try and take away the influence of the Black Panther party."

Elaine Brown, deputy communications director, continued in this theme, "We started the breakfast program to meet the immediate needs of the people . . . because the government has always refused . . . to strengthen the people and weaken the enemy.

McCLAIN CASE

"Now they think they can coopt our efforts, but, how can they get the community's support or cooperation? Ours is totally a community program with free, donated labor. The government is going to have to waste more of the people's money hiring labor, paying for everything."

The single room Panther office is pock-marked with bullet holes.

The bullets, the Panthers tell you, have come from the guns of cops at various times over the last two months. In front of the office is a small, hand-written sign memorializing Lynwood McClain, 15 year old black junior high school student.

McClain was shot down by cops for allegedly stealing an automobile on April 14.

He and a companion were chased by a police car and helicopter while a road block awaited them. The youths stopped their car and began to run.

Young McClain was told to halt. He did. As he turned around, he was shot in the face. He was unarmed.



CHAIRMAN BOBBY SPEAKS AT MAY DAY RALLY TO FREE HUEY

What's happening people? (FREE HUEY) Good evening, Good morning. I think it's about 12:00 right now, it's about 12:00 and if you look in the back of you, you will see Reagan's state building, with his state pigs observing the people. And, of course, if you look in front of you you will see Nixon's U.S. federal building, with the pigs inside, observing the people. And if later on you decide to leave here and go on down Polk Street, you'll walk in front of pig mayor Alioto's office, and they'll be observing the people. Now I know you've heard a lot lately about what pig Mafioso, Moussili, Alioto, has had to say, (right on I know you've heard this pig with his ignorant backwards, minded butt sit up and say crazy things, like he wants to destroy the Black Panther Party. But the Black Panther Party, and black people, and Mexican-American people, and all people are saying there will always be Huey P. Newton, and a Black Panther Party, as long as there are black people living here in this city. (right on). Pig mayor Alioto said that he wanted to destroy the Black Panther Party. Richard Nixon, from the United States White House, is saying that he wants to destroy the Black Panther Party. Ronald Reagan and all the other lying demagogic politicians in this country are trying to destory the Black Panther Party, by lying to the people, (right on) and by not telling the truth; and the reason they're not telling the truth is 'cause they always told lies. right on. They told lies about the people, trying to protect their own self-capitalist interests. In the papers this morning (and I want the papers to get ahold of this) they're saying, ortrying to imply that the Black Panther Party is "subversive". Well, this is all the Black Panther Party has to say to all those pigs in the power structure. The Black Panther Party, along with other members of the community are feeding 2,000 young brothers and sisters every morning (right on), if that's subversive, then damn it we're subversive. (more right on's). The Black Panther Party is going forth to implement Free Health Clinics in the black community, and we hope the Mexican-Americans, and the Chinese-Americans and all the other people do the same thing--and if Free Health Clinics are subversive then damnit, mayor Alioto, and pig Reagan and Nixon, damnit, we're subversive. (right on) We're saying that the Ten Point Platform and Program that our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton put together, is in the process of being implemented. That if it had not been for Huey P. Newton we would not have people with an understanding that they got a right to use weapons to defend themselves against any pigs who attack them. (right on) We're saying that if it had not been for Huey P. Newton, there would not be any BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN. (right on). If it had not been for Huey P. Newton COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE would not be in the process of being implemented by the people. If it had not been for Huey P. Newton, FREE HEALTH CLINICS would not be in the process of being implemented in the black community. If it had not been for Huey P. Newton, the TEN POINT PLATFORM AND PROGRAM of the Black Panther Party would not begin to be implemented by the people. And not only black people, because the Chinese-American, the Red Guard, has copied the same Platform and Program, and they got a right to it. And the Indian-American organization named NARP has copied the same Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party and they got a right to it. We're just waiting for this racism to break down when we see the poor white Appalachians up in the mountains copy the same Ten Point Platform and Program and go forth to destroy the Nixons, the Reagans, and the pig Alioto's (right on). When the Party says "Power to the People", we ain't jiving a pound. We say Power To The People. And when the people say to Reagan, when the people say to Alioto, when the people say to pig Richard M. Nixon, that we want Huey P. Newton free, we're saying you bald headed pig punks better get out of the way (right on) because we're tired. And we saying you better let Huey go. They let that pig O'Brien, who killed Basket go, right on. You let him go on the very minute you allowed him in the street to murder our brothers. They let that other pig go who killed Brother Lindstrom out in Hunter's Point (right on). Wait a minute, the Young Men of And this damn bald-headed Mafioso, Alioto jumped up talking about (right on), wait a minute, the Young Men of Action are his boys. Aint he a ass-hole, shame. (right on). What we're saying is this. We're saying this here. We heard the brothers say in a press conference the brothers in Young Men of Action, they said in a press conference that they denounce pig mayor Alioto, and mayor Alioto is saying that that's hi boys. But we're saying this here: the Panther Party aint mayor Alioto's boys. (laughter) We are the people's workers, and we're going to keep serving the people, everybody. I mean everybody. The man don't like it, but we gone show him. You got your Red Books, hold your Red Books up and tell the brothers where we getting some new ideology from. We're saying like Huey P. Newton said, "that we're going to follow the thoughts ofChairman Mao." We're saying that we going to read the 'ESSAYS BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE'. We're saying Power To All The People. We're saying that if pig mayor Alioto, that if Mickey Mouse Ronald Reagan, that if Tricky Dick Nixon gets in the people's way, that the people are going to move them on over, and we're going to free Huey, FREE HUEY (Repeated). FREE HUEY ( ), FREE HUEY ( ). Now look a here people. The only way we gone get some freedom, and the only way we going to get Huey P. Newton free is to understand where we the people are, to understand what we the people are, in fact. And I'm going to say it just like I know brother Fred Hampton in Chicago with a demonstration just like this at the Federal building is saying. I want you to repeat after me. Say I am a revolutionary (audience repeats). Now you know what the pigs don't like that. And the pigs can't stand that. Ain't no pigs in the street can stand 10,000 people standing around here saying, "Look a here, We tired of this stuff, We gone get rid of it. And we want Huey P. Newton free" so we gone say it one more time: say I am ( ) a revolutionary ( ) They have never liked the Black Panther Party standing up and saying we're revolutionaries, and practising revolutionary actions. They have never liked the Black Panther Party standing up and proving through social practice, that we're not racist, but proving that they in fact are the real racists. They have never like the Black Panther Party and the people talk about "We want some community control of police." They have never respected Huey P. Newton. But we respect Huey P. Newton. We love Huey P. Newton. (right on). I say: We love Huey P. Newton (repeated), We love Eldridge Cleaver (repeate

Cleaver (repeated), We love Kathleen Cleaver (), We love all our people. ( ) We love our people so much that if the pigs attack us, we gone defend ourselves rightfully with guns and force. (right on) We love the people (audience repeats) and we love the people so much that we gone say: I am ( ) a revolutionary ( ) and that's our message to pig Alioto and Richard M. Nixon's America. Thank you and FREE HUEY, (repeated), FREE HUEY ( ) FREE HUEY ( ) Some Brothers are walking around with some buckets, some plastic buckets, they gone be asking for some donations for all the money that had to be put out, and we had to borrow it, to put this rally over, and so let's get it together, there some more speakers coming, sister Kathleen Cleaver is here Eldridge Cleaver's wife, the Chief of Staff David Hilliard is here, we gone donate to the bucket, because we are what, we say: I am ( ) a revolutionary ( ). (Audience repeats each statement): FREE HUEY P. NEWTON ( ), and Power to the People ( ), Down with the pigs ( ), down with all the pigs ( ), Power to all the people ( ). The collection is going on. Power to the people and thank you brothers and sisters. right on. applause.

DR. CARLTON GOODLET SPEAKS AT MAY DAY RALLY TO FREE HUEY



Fellow citizens, we have gathered here today for the specific purpose of showing our concern for the freeing of Huey P. Newton. right on. The issue, I believe, transcends that of freeing Huey. The issue which we face today centers around the attempts of private citizens in this country to ward off the invasion of fascism in our land. right on. Huey Newton is a symbol, what has happened to him can happen to each and everyone of us here assembled. We must guard against the continued erosion of liberties and freedoms that have been not safe to us since the founding days of the republic. The black people in this country for over 350 years have lived in the twilight zone of neo-fascism, and fascism. We're here to say that the safety of black people is in-a-strictably enter-people is in-a-strictably entertwined with the safety of every American citizen. No man, no man is an island and freedom is a relative circumstance. It is not how high the guage reads in New York city, or what the guage shos in San Francisco. But freedom is determined by the indices on the scale of freedom, that exhibits itself in the foreign state of Mississippi, in the Belgian Congo, in South Africa. And thi has relevancy in this country primarily because of the fact, that since World War 2 the United States government and the military-industrial complex have become the most vicious, the most imperialist, colonial, and neo-colonial power in the history of the world. right on. And that those of us who will say, since foreign policy is the merit image of domestic policy. As long as there is racism in America on a domestic level, there must as necessarily level, there must as a necessity be racism and war and exploitation of the third world people throughout the good spaceship earth. There are those of us who are determined that America can be a better America. And in fighting for such an America let me say to you that the risk and the price that the individual courageous crusaders for freedom must pay, in some instances will be serious and will involve the offering of one's life itself. right on. In San Francisco, a city with a world wide reputation of a cosmopolitan seaport we find a vicious establishment that uses the police force as a means to control, to harrass the black ghettoes. right on. For over 25 years some of us, particularly those of my generation have been attempting to ameliorate the conditions that make for prolonged racial conflict. I confess to you, that my generation, the tough generation, has failed. We have been on the treadmill of cnversation asking for justice, and talking to an insensitive establishment (right on) that refuses to make an appropriate response to non-violent petitions. right on. The Black Panther Party is an evolvement of such chaotic conditions in the black ghetto. There is a place for the Black Panthers in racist America. right on, applause. I've been notified that my time is up. But let me answer here and now. The black peple in America have met every demand placed upon them, in both peace and war. We want every right and every privilege guaranteed to white Americans. We demand no more, we will accept no less. right on. But to make it very very clear as I visualized this struggle of the heroic black youth in this country. This is what they're saying to me. We want complete freedom. If we are forced in freedom's name to fight for liberty. Let us fight and let us die at home. right on. If fight we must in freedom's name, let us die in the black ghettoes. right on. of America's vicious cities. Let us conduct, if forced we are, guerilla warfare, in the senseless, cruel, inhuman brick, steel and concrete canyons of America's vicious cities. If we must die in freedom's name, better to die at home, than to be buried in an unmarked grave in South Vietnam. right on. applause. The struggle for freedom is inseparable. Men everywhere look to the courageous youth of America. And as I close let me quote for you the words of a man who long ago recognized the dangers ofsilence.

Edmund Burke, in 1775, made this statement to the Parliament in Great Britain: "All that is necessary for evil to triumph in the world is for enough good men to say nothing." As we leave this place today, let us take upon ourselves a covenant. That we will fight for individual liberty, and human freedom. And when your day comes let it not be said for anyone ofus, that we have been guilty of humanities greatest crime, and that is the crime of silence. right on. applause.

Cont. from pg. 10, col. 1

K. CLEAVER SPEAKS AT MAY DAY RALLY

men must withdraw from the Black community, cease their wanton murder, their brutality to black people or face the wrath of the armed people." right on. Well, they haven't stopped their wanton murder and brutality of black people. And we liked to say today that if the racist pig courts don't withdraw their vicious hold over Huey P. Newton, Stop their deliberations, their vacillations, and their bullshit about Huey P. Newton's freedom. Then they will face the wrath of the armed people. right on, Because they've been pushing, they demanding, they are forcing the people to fight for Huey. They are forcing us to do that. We would gladly have Huey P. Newton set free on bail, we would welcome Huey. But they don't want to do that, they don't want to act right. They want to act crazy, they want to act like pigs. And they're going to force the people whether we like it or not, whether you ready or not, to become the force for freedom, to become fighters for freedom, to shoot down, kill for freedom, like people all over the world are doing. right on. The Vietnamese didn't have any technology, they didn't have any money. They have one thing, a united will to be free. And from that all other things stemmed. The people here, we have a lot of technology, we have a lot of skill, we have a lot of timing, and we have not yet got the united will to be free. If we get that, the show is on the road. If you can join behind Huey P. Newton, behind one man, on one principle, his freedom, for one day. May 1, May day, which the Russian pigs have stopped even celebrating, cause they too busy sending sympathy congratulations to Nixon and his war ships, over north Korea, and they shooting them down. They too busy to celebrate May day. If we can do that this one day, then we can free Huey, and we can free all people, and we can make this country truly a land ofthe free. Because the land belongs to the people, right on, the land belongs to those who guilt it, to those who died for it, and those whose blood has fertilized the soil so these pigs can sit up there and eat steaks and greens, while we got to be eating pork chops and bar-b-que, right on. We don't know when they gonna come out with their decision. They say three days, two days, four days. I tell you this the way they gone do it is sneak it off in the corner of the paper, in a little thing that says what they decided. Well, it's time for us right now to decide what we're gonna do, where we gone do it, how we gone do it, and when we gone do it. If you ain't decided whether if you gone do it, then go on home. right on, Because when we say free Huey, that's only the first step to freeing all people. All people, all people of all color, and all kinds, they can relate to freedom, because all people are oppressed. Whether they know it or not. And we recognize that, Huey recognized that, and we're gonna get Huey P. Newton free. Huey's gonna be set free or nobody gone be free, right? Right on, If Huey can't be free what goddamn bit of difference does it make if you're free, right on. FREE HUEY NOW. (repeated by audience).

10,000 STRONG IN SUPPORT OF HUEY AT SAN FRANC



CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID HILLIARD SPEAKS A

So what is there to talk about. Seems that everybody up here has one thing in common, and that's a unity of understanding. Everybody has a common desire to free Huey Newton. That's the premis that we came here this morning for. But we notice that since we've been here that there have been all kinds of provocations to help the pig power structure keep Huey locked up. And that we're not so naive as to think that all you people out there are here to support Huey. So that we judge the people here that are truly in support of Huey, by their co-operation in trying to maintain this peaceful demonstration here in order to keep these crazy pigs from hurting these young people. Because I wouldn't give a fuck about all you old stupid motherfuckers out there. It's just the young kids that we're here to protect, (right on). So, the other day we noticed that the mayor of San Francisco, Mussolini Alioto, who works in the same fashion as mussolini, Alioto knows the art; fascism, Alioto related to what is known as, I think is referred to as "tempista", which means he relates to good timing. And he picked a very good time, because he had those stupid muddle-headed, crazy insane Irishmen attack the Black Panther office, in order to try to poison the atmosphere for Huey Newton's bail. But we say that the stupid motherfuckers failed, and that a clear indication of his failure is manifested in the people here to support our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, today. So, since we're talking about support of Huey P. Newton, if it takes three days, if it takes three months for them to make a decision, then we want the very same people to be here three days, three months, three hours, or what have you. And that we hope from some of the people in this crowd that are not very revolutionary, and not thinking, that after they leave this rally, that they will be able to relate to organization. Because only through organization massive organization, can we free Huey. So that we have to relate, and we have to relate organizationally. We don't relate to spontaneity, because spontaneity is the ideology of the opportunists. And that we're not opportunists, we're revolutionaries. We're guided by the theories of

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FRANCISCO FEDERAL BUILDING MAY DAY



The state of California says that Huey Newton is a danger to the community. What do you say? (No). Is Huey Newton a good force for the community or a bad one.(good). We finished the case before Judge Zirpoli this morning. We've got an uphill fight friends, but we're gonna win. right on. The people are gonna win. right on. We want and we need Huey Newton out on the streets, don't we? right on. In about three or four days the Judge will decide whether he has the power to make the decision that's so important to us. You know this is the first time that we've even had a hearing on this important question. You know the only way that we're gonna make any headway is because of good people like yourselves. There's power in the people. right on. Keep up the great work. We need each other.

CHARLES GARRY

AKS AT MAY DAY RALLY TO FREE HUEY

Marx and Lenin. We know that's the only way that we can be successful in our attempt is to organize. And when we do move, we move politically and we move organizationally. So that just because you have thousands of people here today doesn't mean that we're gonna go out throwing rocks, and bottles at people walking around with 357's and machine guns. We say that that's insanity. We know that uprising is an art. And if we're gonna work, we're gonna work from that premis. We're gonna choose the time and place. We're not gonna be so naive as to start some shit here where all those mechanical motherfuckers across the street with machine guns, cameras, chemical mace, and everything else can rain down upon us, and just massacre us. We say that that's the wrong tactics. So that when we move, we're gonna move politically, we're gonna move organizationally, and that we're gonna relate to some organization. And we mean to have these rallies. We're gonna have the rallies and we're gonna be here to show support for our Minister of Defense, tomorrow, the next day, until they make a decision. Because there's no late-comers in revolution. There's no late-comers so that as the time goes along, the longer they put off their decision, the more people we'll have to show support for our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. Bobby Seale, our Chairman, made a statement the other day. And he said that Alioto hated the Breakfast for Children program. I say that Bobby is right. I'm in agreement with him. Not only does he hate the Breakfast for Children program, he hates socialism, he hates socialism because he's a facist. He's a fascist he's a Machevalian Mafioso fool. And we say that if Alioto fucks with the Black Panther Party, not only will we deal with the Molly McGuires, manifested in that fool Cahill, but we'll deal with the Mafia. We say fuck the Mafia, fuck anybody that's trying to trample upon the rights of the people. Because we know that the power is manifested in the people. (right on) We say (right on) We say that it wouldn't make us one bit of difference if those motherfuckers moved on Bobby and myself this afternoon, because we know that the people will follow through with this shit. Fuck Alioto in his stupid ass. I think we were right.

AN INTERVIEW WITH UAW'S BLACK PANTHER CAUCUS LEADER KENNY HORTSON



Kenny Horston, Director of the Black Panther Caucus at the Fremont UAW (United Auto Workers) plant agreed to give an interview to several movement newspapers: PEOPLE'S WORLD, THE GUARDIAN, THE MOVEMENT and THE BLACK PANTHER PAPER. to discuss last week's labor conference at the Black Church. This Conference was called for the purpose of publicly discussing the working alliance formed between the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers of Detroit. We are printing it now because we recognize - as Huey has always taught - the enormous importance of such an alliance, the historic significance in this case - and the necessity of building among our cadre a strong working class consciousness. If our struggle is a class one, we must decide with which class our allegiance lies. We must undoubtedly decide in favor of the working class and then, unceasingly support its constant struggle against our common enemy, the white ruling power structure. Kenny Horston, as an active participant in that struggle, can be of invaluable assistance to us in sharing his knowledge of theory and tactics of the working class struggle.

Kenny: We want to explore the possibilities of forming an alliance between the community group, the Black Panther Party, and a workers' group, the League of Black Revolutionary Workers. Out of this, we hope to clarify a lot of doubts and fears the community has of workers and community being together. The League has been under vicious attack by the UAW International Executive Board, namely Walter Reuther, Emil Masey and Leonard Woodcock and we feel that if the UAW can come to the defense of the corporations being attacked by the workers, then the Black Panther Party and the League must form an alliance to defend themselves against the unions and the companies.

BPP: I would like to know why the Panthers after having concentrated primarily on community affairs is turning in this direction - towards an alliance with labor.

KEN: Huey P. Newton, the Minister of Defense recognized that the workers are the key in the revolution. In the past, we didn't concentrate on labor because it was necessary to concentrate on defending the Black community and meeting its immediate needs. I have a Black Panther Caucus established at General Motors, Fremont and Chairman Bobby Seale and Chief of Staff, David Hilliard decided that this approach was correct, that we need to bring labor and the community closer together. It is vital that we understand how the union and the company work together to keep the workers oppressed, thereby oppressing the community and the fact that what affects the people in the factories and plants always affects the people directly or indirectly - in the communities.

BPP: What kind of importance are you attributing to a Black community labor alliance? What positives are going to result from the alliance as far as workers and community are concerned?

KEN: The Black community is labor itself. There are very few trained or college educated people in the Black community. So in fact, this is what makes up the labor force - the Black community. So we feel that when the labor leadership or the companies oppresses labor, they are, in fact, oppressing the Black community - or the community in general.

BPP: What's happening in the Bay Area in terms of revolutionary labor organization? In the auto industry, for example?

KEN: 7 months ago, I formed a caucus in my plant, a Black Panther Caucus, based on working conditions at that time. Since then, we've been under constant attack from the company and the union. For instance, when we first formed, the union leaders spread rumors that we were going to get guns and overthrow the union, get everyone out of the union hall, forcibly invade the corporation, blow up its gasoline towers and this type of thing. This served the purpose of instilling fear in the white workers which is what they wanted to do. This was during the national elections last year and the Wallace supporters in our local - and we have quite a few - were gathering to make a mass assault upon our local meeting to demand that our local give money to Wallace's campaing. Through the efforts of our Caucus, although we were young, we were able to head off this manuver. And they could have done this, because the union by-laws state that if we donate money to one candidate, we have to donate to any other candidate of the membership's choice.

Guardian: Are you encouraging workers in other industries to attend this conference?

KEN: Yes, particularly those who want to know how to form caucuses in their union or where they work. It's all based on the same thing, the working conditions, the oppression of the workers. Now, there's a newly formed caucus in S.F., the Muni bus drivers that the Party is helping to organize and we're working to organize Black caucusses in Pittsburg, in the steel workers union there. One of the leaders of the Vallejo chapter is attempting this and it is my belief that no matter where you work, the brothers have to unite together and decide for themselves what is best for them.

BPP: Why do you feel that the auto industry is basic for the organization of workers everywhere?

KEN: The auto industry consists of something like 1,500,000 people and almost one-third of those people are Black so this is why I say that the auto industry is where the vanguard is going to be. It has to be the auto industry because this is the largest percentage of Black people and the working conditions in the auto industry of Black people is the worst of all. So the auto industry will have to be the base. For example, recently I've learned that one of the so-called, militant union organization, the ILWU has made a vicious attack upon Black revolutionaries. I see this as meaning that union leaders no matter where they are going to band together against all revolutionaries, black or white, and it is a must that we band together to defend ourselves.

PW: What is the percentage of Black workers at Fremont?

KEN: At Fremont, there are something like 5,000 workers and of that there are 1,700 Black workers. This doesn't include our entire union which extends all the way back to the OAKland auto parts plant and there are 700 workers there. Of those, 300 are Black, so, in fact, we constitute one-**third** in the overall structure of the union.

PW: Chairman Bobby Seale says that if you're going to talk about Black liberation, you have to talk about it in terms of the class struggle and if you don't talk about in in terms of the class struggle, you're not talking about anything. Then, do you see the Black caucusses picking up the Brown workers, if there are any and eventually moving into a class position insofar as strength is concerned?

KEN: The Chairman's analysis of that is very correct. We have a 10-point program and our program stipulates that the Panther Caucus recognize Chicano friends and we also support the Brown Beret organization. There are about 1,000 Chicanos at Fremont. So we see this as a class struggle. Right on, we're involved in an election coming up in June and we're going to run a unity slate, consisting of people from all nationalities and our position is that no matter who you are or what you are, if you're the best man for the job, you will get the job and we will support you wholeheartedly. We are now under attack from the white to support a Chicano brother for Chairman of the Shop Committee. We are supporting him not because he's Chicano, but because he's well aware of the problems of the workers overall in his local. He's the best man for the job.

BPP: You mentioned that you thought the workers in auto unions would be the vanguard. Would you care to amplify on that a little?

KEN: The number of Black people in the auto industry is almost twice that of almost any other union in the nation and the Black people are the most downtrodden people not only in the community, but also in the unions and in industry. By being the largest in numbers, by us banding together, we can possibly raise the political awareness of other Black people and develop their knowledge as to the importance of unions, but the rottenness of the union leadership. Our local union is the second largest union in the Bay Area. The Black workers in our local constitute 2,000 members and this is larger than the majority of other locals in the Area. (I want to emphasize the percentage of Black people who work in auto.)

The last real race riot in Detroit grew out of a picnic of auto workers and they participated in the riot. Rumors started such as a white man threw a black baby into the river and a black man threw a white baby into the river, etc. At this time, the union was trying to get Black workers to come into the local, to participate in strikes, etc. and the Black workers didn't want any part of it because they didn't see where it was going to benefit them. After they participated in the strike and it was successful, the union leadership didn't want them anymore. In the spring of 1943, 20,000 white workers went on strike against the upgrading of Black workers. A few months later, in June, 1943, this race riot broke out. The Negro leaders asked the Mayor to call in federal troops to stop the riot and he refused. At the same time, a group of Negro soldiers at Fort Custer in Michigan were arrested for an attempt to take guns and ammunition to defend their community. Of the 34 people killed during the riot, 23 were black; of 800 injured, more than 500 were black, of 1800 arrested, over 1200 were black. Yet from Monday morning when the major violence began to the end of the rioting, the Black people were on the defensive. A couple of days later, the Detroit Free Press (that racist paper) and the N.Y Times ran a picture showing a Black man being held by 2 pigs while he was being beaten by a white man. When you talk about violence, you have to see that all the Black people were trying to do was defend themselves - the same as we're trying to do now by banding together and raising the political awareness of our workers.

BPP:Reuther, has had some dealing with the establishment. Would you care to go into that? How has his connection with the power structure affected the union members?

KEN: I remember Walter Reuther very well. When he was preaching the need for a revolution in the auto industry. He was advocating that workers come out with sticks and chains and defend themselves against the goon squads of the company. Over the years, he has become increasingly conservative. He makes trips to Washington to discuss with the president the position of the auto workers. He has something like one million or 500,000 votes in his power and he uses this as a bargaining power to get little things for the workers which are, in fact, just gestures. It took us damn near 6 years to get a cost-of-living allowance. Last year when Walter Reuther and General Motors got through juggling the allowance what the workers got was non-existant. When bargaining time comes, he picks the weakest company to deal with. He has never confronted General Motors with the might of the workers. He is concerned only with his own personal gain. Reuther's strategy is simple; he has a key man in every local throughout the industry and if anything goes down against the company or if the membership forced the union to stand up against the company all the company does is give the word to that key man and if he can't handle it, they go directly to Walter Reuther. Years ago, Reuther had only to make a phone call to stop a strike or make a local buckle under. Now I see the Reuther dictatorship disintegrating. Now he has to send expeditions to the various locals to make them buckle under. I don't think he's as strong as he used to be. For example, on April 2, 1969, the Sterling Heights Stamping Plant shut down half of Chrysler Corporation over work assignments. On April 7, 1969, Reuther placed an administratorship over the local "to persuade the leaders to get back to work". On March 8, 1967, Local 549 in Mansfield, Ohio, a GM plant, was the victim of the same takeover for being "reluctant". The companies recognize that Reuther is losing power and they're going to have somebody else to deal with.

PW: Did you work in auto in Detroit? Tell us something about your own labor history.

KEN: I didn't work in auto in Detroit, when I left Detroit to go to the service and left the service I went to the only thing I knew. I was born and raised around the auto industry. My father had to work 2 jobs, one at Dodge and one at River Rouge plant for us to survive and there wee only 5 of us. My father was a foundry worker at Ford and an assembly worker at Dodge. He had to quit about 15 years ago because his lungs were giving out due to the sand and gasses he breathed in the foundry. When I was very young and asked my mother where was my father. The answer was always, "he's working". I remember I would always think, "Why if my Father worked 2 jobs 7 days a week,' how come we were so poor and living in Black Bottom"? (the Detroit ghetto in those days.)

PW: How long have you been at Fremont?

KEN: I've been at Fremont General Motors plant 6 years.

BPP: A while ago you mentioned the "enemy from within". I assume by this you mean the union establishment or the people within the union whose loyality is directed toward the union leadership rather than toward the workers. By this you imply that the workers in the plant have to get together by themselves, they can no longer rely on the union leadership.

KEN: This is basically what I'm saying as far as the enemy from within. We've got 2 enemies; the union and the corporation, in that order, and only when we recognize that the enemy is within can we effectively combat the corporation, the power structure. We can't at this time, combat the corporation because the union leadership is like a brick wall between the workers and the corporation and when we try to climb this wall, then Reuther and Harry Bridges and the other crooks are going to put a little more grease on the wall and make it harder for us to get there. So we have to form more caucusses and a revolutionary movement so that we can break down this wall and then we can proceed to move against the corporation with the might of the union behind us - and not in front of us.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
WORKERS CONTROL
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

BLACK G.I REFUSES TO FIGHT IN RACIST WAR

letter

Dear Friends,

Two weeks ago today I was released from the **stockade**. I have been waiting at Special Processing Detachment for reassignment. I am expecting the worst: orders for Vietnam - though I am still refusing to go.

In future letters I would like to describe my experiences since I returned to military custody. In the meanwhile I hope you are doing well and I'd like to thank you for everything.

Yours in JUSTICE
Henry Mills

friend's story

I first met Henry Mills at Fort Dix in February the morning I had my summary court-martial after going AWOL. We were standing in a cage called a "bullpen" with about forty other guys. We were all waiting for guards to take us to the courtroom. They had us packed into the tiny cage and, in addition, from time to time the guard would have us stand at attention. We had been waiting since 7 a.m. and at the time I met Henry it was about nine.

Henry Mills is a Black man. He told me that morning that he could no sooner kill the people of Vietnam than he could kill his own Black brothers and sisters.

When the guards came to take us to the court building they were all armed with 45 pistols and had handcuffs. Some of them threatened that they would shoot any of us that tried to escape. They took Henry away in one of the first groups. I had to wait because I was in "segregation" and had to have my own personal guard-- and handcuffs.

In the court building we were put in another bullpen. Tension was high.

Then the summary court officer arrives. He is a lifer Special Forces officer with at least twenty medals stuck on his chest for murdering Vietnamese. He reads us the AR on summary courts-martial. Then we wait in the bullpen as men are called in one by one.

It is hot in the crowded room. We are talking. The officer comes out of court and screams "ATTENTION!" He makes us line up in three files. It is hot as hell. There is no ventilation. We are standing at attention cursing under our breath. The officer yells at Henry to come into the courtroom. Henry's coat is unbuttoned and his tie is undone. He has to fix it. The officer yells at him to hurry up. He goes in the courtroom.

We cannot hear words clearly through the partition but we can hear voices and I can tell that Henry is definately stating why he went AWOL and that he will not go to Vietnam.

So far the others have gotten off with restrictions. Henry is the first to receive confinement - 30 days - the maximum. But when he comes out he is as strong as ever. He comes over and growls, "That racist m----------!"

Then the guards come for him and the others who have been tried. Henry and I shake hands and he gives the power sign and goes to get into the truck to be hauled back to the pound.

I pay a tribute to Henry Mills, a Black G.I that refused to fight in the racist war against the oppressed country of Vietnam.

Out of some twenty men court-martialed that day, only three were given confinement at hard labor in the stockade.

All three of them were Black.

by
PFC John Lewis

The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

— MAO TSETUNG

The Just Struggle of the Afro-Americans Is Sure to Win

— Commemorating first anniversary of Chairman Mao's Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression

ON April 16 a year ago, our great leader Chairman Mao issued his Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression. This statement is another glorious Marxist-Leninist document on the Afro-American struggle following the "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. imperialism" made by Chairman Mao in 1963.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement last year: **"The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class."** The development in depth of the Afro-American struggle and the new upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement of all the American people in the past year have vividly borne out this scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's.

Following the Black people's struggle against violent repression which swept more than 160 American cities on an unprecedented scale last spring, new waves of struggles against violent suppression raged one after another in Cleveland and dozens of other cities. Meanwhile, the workers' movement in the United States developed tremendously. There was a total of 4,950 strikes by American workers in 1968. Students in more than 100 American universities and colleges took part in strikes and demonstrations to strongly oppose the aggressive war against Vietnam, racial discrimination and the decadent bourgeois educational system. The Afro-American struggle, the workers' movement and the progressive student movement, which echo and are interwoven with one another, have dealt the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class a telling blow.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his statement: "**Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation.**" With the daily sharpening of the class struggle and the development in depth of the Afro-American struggle in the United States, this truth has been understood by more and more Afro-American people.



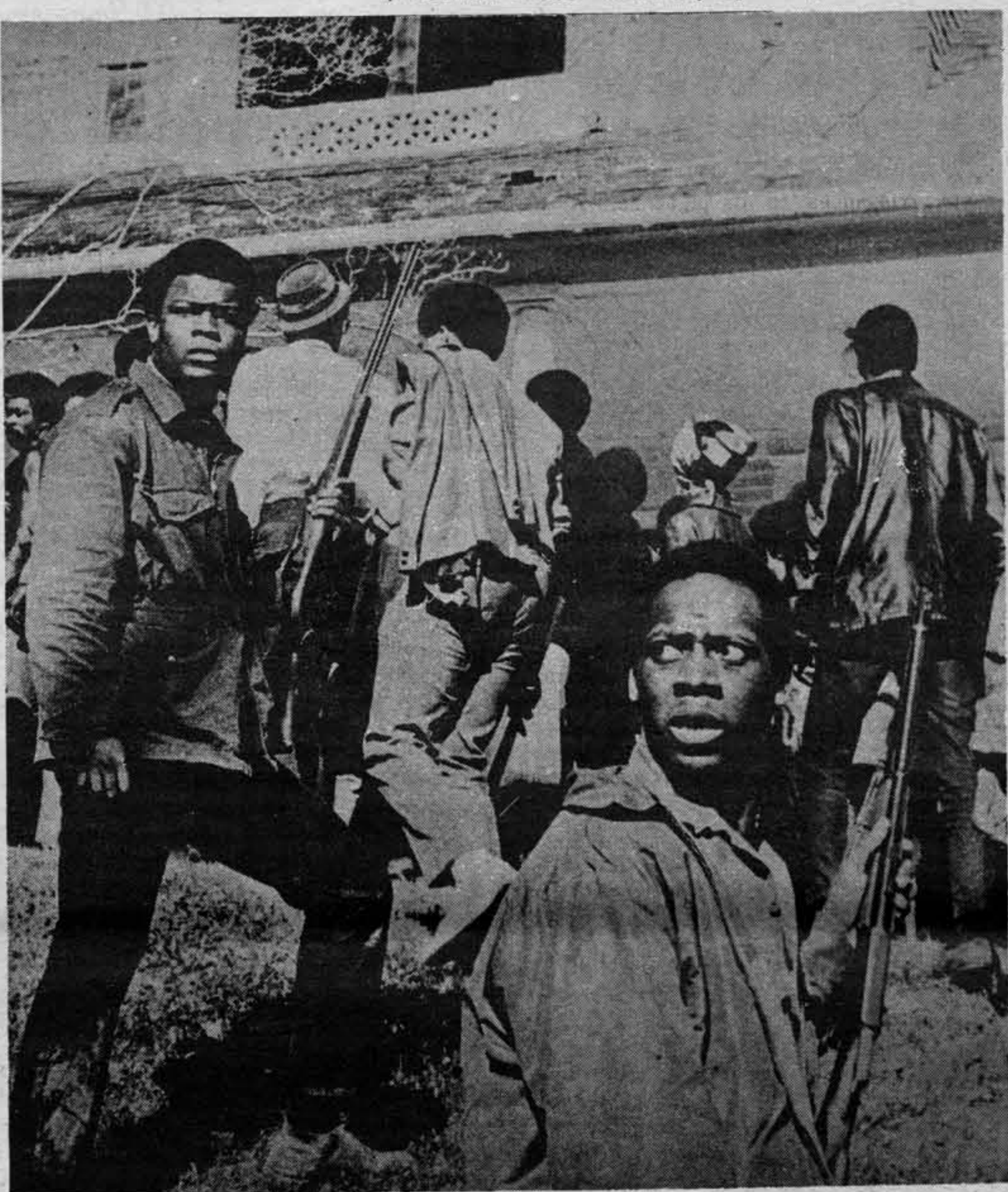
The system of racial discrimination in the United States is one of the mainstays by which U.S. imperialism maintains its reactionary rule. The U.S. monopoly capitalist class uses racial discrimination as an important means to grab super-profits and divide the broad labouring masses. So long as the capitalist system exists in the United States, U.S. ruling circles will never forsake their policy of racial discrimination; on the contrary, they will only intensify the racial oppression and class oppression of the broad Afro-American masses. Inheriting the mantle of previous U.S. governments, Richard Nixon has employed counter-revolutionary dual tactics against the Black Americans. On the one hand, he emphasizes "law" and "order" and has intensified the violent suppression of the Black people. What is especially pernicious in this respect is his policy of using Black people to fight the Black people by recruiting Black Americans into the police force. On the other hand, he is unscrupulously engaged in political deception by advocating the "development of Black capitalism," pretending to be concerned over the Black people's welfare. This trick of Nixon's is most ridiculous. The root cause of the sufferings of the Afro-Americans lies precisely in capitalism. The so-called "development of Black capitalism" simply means fostering a handful of Black capitalists while subjugating the broad masses of Afro-Americans and making them eternal slaves of capital. How can such a clumsy trick deceive anybody? From the practice of their own struggle, the Afro-American masses have come to understand more and more clearly that to win complete emancipation, they must unite with the broad masses of the white working people, merge their struggle with the workers' movement and use revolutionary violence to overthrow the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In his statement, Chairman Mao has made a great call: **"People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and against its accomplices!"** The tide of the great struggle now being waged by the proletariat and the broad masses of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism is rising vigorously. That the Afro-American struggle is taking place in the very heart of the world's counter-revolutionary forces — the United States — is of great international significance. This struggle is a component part of the great struggle by all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and a component part of the world

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revolutionary movement in our era. The valiant struggle of the Black people in the United States is a powerful support to the people of other countries fighting against U.S. imperialism, while the anti-U.S. struggles of the people of all countries are a support to the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Americans. All these revolutionary struggles which support one another have converged into a huge torrent of the world revolutionary movement in the present era, and are pounding vigorously at the entire old world. It can be said with certainty that, with the support of the revolutionary people who comprise over 90 per cent of the world population, the Afro-American struggle and the revolutionary struggle of all the American people will inevitably sweep the whole country like a raging fire and reduce U.S. imperialism to ashes.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 17)



Afro-American Struggle Developing in Depth

OUR great leader Chairman Mao issued his Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression on April 16, 1968. With its incontrovertible truth, this statement greatly inspires the broad masses of the Afro-American people in their just struggle to win freedom and emancipation. During the past year, the Afro-American struggle has been surging ahead wave upon wave and developing in depth daily. The trend of this struggle to merge with the workers' movement has become more and more obvious. Its spearhead is clearly directed at the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups. An ever fiercer and greater storm of the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Americans is bound to come.

The Afro-American struggle in the past year has developed on the basis of the violent resistance against racial discrimination started five years ago. On August 8, 1963, Chairman Mao issued his "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism." Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking has rapidly raised the political consciousness of the Black Americans. Breaking the shackles of "non-violence," they launched one large-scale violent struggle after another against bloody repression by fascist troops and police in Harlem (New York) in 1964, in Watts (Los Angeles) in 1965, in Chicago in 1966 and in Newark and Detroit in 1967.

The Afro-American struggle in 1968 developed a step further and brought about a new situation. In early April, in only a week's time, the flames of this struggle against violent repression spread over the country to more than 160 cities and towns. Even Washington, the ruling centre of the U.S. monopoly groups, became a battlefield where the Afro-Americans fought tenaciously. This powerful storm dealt the U.S. reactionary ruling circles a stunning blow. Alarmed, they said that it was the "most serious internal crisis" in the United States in the last 100 years. All this fully illustrates the rapid awakening of the Afro-Americans and, "**it shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million Black Americans.**"

Black Workers' Increasingly Prominent Fighting Role

Black workers have played an increasingly prominent fighting role in the Afro-American struggle during the past year. This is a marked characteristic showing that the struggle is developing in depth. In the stormy nationwide actions of the Afro-Americans against violent repression, the Black workers took the lead in starting spontaneous strikes everywhere, forcing many factories to stop production. Noteworthy is the fact that in many industrial cities, the Black workers have begun to form caucuses which by breaking the control of the scab union bosses have directly led the strikes, giving a powerful impetus to the strike struggle of the American workers as a whole. The strikes by the Memphis sanitation workers and Chicago's public transport workers and the whole series of strikes in many Detroit auto plants were all held by Black workers with the support of white workers by breaking through the obstruction and disruptive activities of the monopoly capitalist class and the scab unions.

Apart from raising economic demands, the Afro-American workers have put forward clear-cut political demands in the struggle, directing the spearhead of their struggle at the monopoly capitalist groups and their agents. Although the monopoly capitalist class and the scab union bosses have racked their brains and tried in every way possible to control, strangle and undermine the Afro-American workers' struggle, the Black workers have steadily increased their activities to get rid of the control of the scab unions and organize themselves in the fight since last year.

Under the impact of the Afro-American struggle against violent repression and with the Black workers playing an influential role, the militancy of the broad masses of the workers in the United States has steadily increased. Their struggle against the control by the bosses of the scab unions is further developing. Last year, for instance, at least 25 spontaneous strikes took place in the iron and steel industry against the wishes of the scab union bosses, and there was a large number of rank and file committees organized by the masses of workers themselves.

The militant role played by the Afro-American workers has far-reaching significance for the Afro-American struggle and the American workers' movement. More and more Black workers have gone into some U.S. basic industries in recent years, and their position in American society has become increasingly important. For instance, Black workers in the automobile industry make up 35 to 50 per cent of all American auto workers. In important industrial cities such as Chicago, Detroit and Newark, they make up 40-50 per cent of all the workers there. Suffering from all kinds of political discrimination and oppression and ruthless economic exploitation, the Afro-American workers are most resolute and courageous in the struggle. As the Black workers in the United States mount on the political stage of the country still further, the Afro-American struggle is bound to merge further with the U.S. workers' movement to hasten the end of the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

Afro-American Struggle Directly Spurs Student Movement

The Afro-American struggle has also directly spurred the student movement in the United States. In the past year, the student movement has spread to nearly every university in the country and even large numbers of middle school students in many parts of the country have taken part in it. Standing in the forefront of this struggle are brave, unyielding and fearless Black students. Both the strike at Columbia University, which took place in spring last year and lasted for more than one month, and the four-month-old strike in San Francisco State College, California, which recently ended were set off by Black students and actively joined by white students. Last February, Black students and progressive white students in the University of California carried on a struggle against racial discrimination, in which several thousand students fiercely battled the police for two days on end. The strike by the Black students as well as the progressive white students in the University of Wisconsin gave the reactionary U.S. ruling circles such a bad fright that they sent 3,000 reactionary troops and police to the university to wildly suppress the students. Confronted by this vigorously rising student movement,

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CHIEF OF STAFF DAVID HILLIARD SPEAKS AT LABOR CONFERENCE



Since this is a conference of workers, I think it would be appropriate to use a greeting that the workers use, its All workers unite - All power to the people. Our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton says that if a man is born, therefore he has a right to live. In main I think that we all recognize one point, that there is a need to try and solve the problems not only of the workers, but of the unemployed workers. And we recognize that the reason for the struggle at this point, and the reason for ideas suggested such as the ideas that the brothers just got through talking about, are necessary only because we live under the system of exploitation. And that, that system is capitalism. And that we feel that all the unions that we can muster together still would not serve the interest of the people unless they change this system. Because its the very system that put us in the position or the condition that we're in today. And the methods for solving our problems the Black Panther Party feels is through a proletarian internationalism, that is, all the workers uniting to deliver a devastating blow to this imperialistic power structure. So we feel that this is no more than a union meeting you can call it a conference if you want to, but we know that its just a lot of workers regardless of the category you put us in; the Black Panther Party - we're workers, I've worked, I've had a job. Bobby's worked, Masai has worked. So that we see the necessity for solving the problem only because we're workers and only because we know that in order to destroy this oppressive system, we have to all unite around some common desires, or some common goals.

So that the one thing that we have in common, be we European, or Afro-American is that we are the exploited class. That we're workers and that the factory owners are the bourgeoise class and that they enslave us night and day. Day in day out, year in, year out. So that the whole concept about an independent Black workers union would not serve as the instrument to solve the problems of capitalism or to solve the problems of exploitation, to solve the problems of a 36 or a 48 hour work week. And I don't think that we have to be verbose, or I don't have the capacity to use long terms. I would like to speak in the ideom of the workers. I know that it is very simple to solve the problems of unemployment, and I'm not a genius, that I'm not an economist. I just know that through some organization we can begin to solve the problems of unemployment, as well as we could solve the problems of people propagating the concept of independent Black workers union, and that the way we do that, is not by setting up unions independent of the rest of the workers, as a matter of fact I see that as being a reality right now, because Black people are an independent workers union, but they do not get the same respect when they redress their grievances to the grievance committees; it's not looked upon in the same light as the white workers. So that in itself is a very concrete observation that we're already in a separate union. But we want to go beyond that, and we want to solve the problems of all the workers, we want to solve the problems, as I said earlier, even of the unemployed workers. And that we many programs we have, regardless as to how many proposals, how many debating sessions or grievance committees we attend, we cannot solve those problems unless we talk about destroying this system.

So that's what's cut out for us, and that's the goal of the Black Panther Party, and we don't hide it, we don't pigeonhole it: We say it and we say it without reserve, because we know that it is a matter of fact, that there has always been classes, that there's always been exploiters and exploited and that it was always one of a class struggle. So that we don't have to use any more analysis or try to bring forth any other ideology. Because there's only one ideology for the workers, and that's the ideology that's shared by 3/4ths of the world. And that we relate to that ideology. Even if the people in this room refuse to accept it, it still puts us in a majority because the ideology that I'm talking about has already been exemplified in some of the countries that probably most of you refer to as communist. We take Cuba for an example, there was mass unemployment before the revolution. But we notice that after the revolution that there is a need for more labor. And that they solved their problems of unemployment, they solved their problems of independent unions by becoming one union. A union that represented all the people. A union that's not referred to as the ILWU, or the AFL-CIO, all those other initials and brands. But a union that they called the dictatorship of the proletariat And whether you realize that that's necessary or not makes me no difference, because I know that's its necessary to solve the problems and we're going to tell the truth about solving them. And I have enough respect to do that.

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Struggle of the Afro-Americans

some sections of the U.S. bourgeois press sounded the alarm, saying that it was an "academic revolution that has transformed the role of the colleges in the country."

Also inseparable from the development of the Afro-American struggle is the American people's struggle against the war of aggression in Vietnam. Not only have more and more young Black Americans opposed the draft, but growing numbers of Black soldiers have actively plunged into the struggle against this war of aggression. The struggle by young Black Americans and Black soldiers against the draft and against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam has inspired American people of different social strata to oppose this war of aggression. Mammoth demonstrations against this war of aggression took place again on April 5 and 6 in dozens of big cities, including New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Washington, in which hundreds of thousands of people took part.

Another characteristic of the development in depth of the Afro-American struggle is that more and more advanced Black Americans have begun a tit-for-tat struggle against the various fallacies spread by the monopoly capitalist class to sabotage the Black people's struggle. To suppress the Afro-American struggle which is developing vigorously, the monopoly capitalist class, in addition to stepping up counter-revolutionary violence, has tried in every conceivable way to deceive and hoodwink the Black people. Before and after coming to power, the new chieftain of U.S. imperialism Nixon energetically advocated "Black capitalism," vainly trying to foster a Black bourgeoisie under the wing of U.S. monopoly capital so as to control the Afro-American struggle. The advanced Black Americans have risen courageously in countering the attack by the monopoly capitalist class. They pointed out that the "Black capitalism" trumpeted by Nixon and his like is nothing but a big plot to maintain the reactionary rule of monopoly capital and deceive and exploit the Black working class still further. They also repudiated the racialism the monopoly capitalist class spreads among the white working people as well as the "cultural nationalism" it spreads among the Black people. All this, they stressed, is a conspiracy of the monopoly capitalist class to split the unity between the Black people and the white working people and to lead the struggle of the Black people astray.

Studying and Disseminating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

Some advanced Black people in the struggle have conscientiously studied and propagated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and summed up the experience and lessons in the Black people's struggle. Through this summing up, many of them have further pointed out that what the Afro-Americans really need is an end to the system of exploitation of man by man, a revolution to destroy the capitalist system, that only the working class can lead the Afro-American movement for emancipation to achieve this purpose and that only by integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete conditions in the United States can the working class win victory. This struggle launched by the advanced Afro-Americans is helping the Black masses shake off still further all kinds of mental fetters imposed by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class, and advance rapidly along the road to emancipation.



Torrential Tide of Afro-American Struggle Is Irresistible

In the face of the daily rising current of the Afro-American struggle, U.S. ruling circles are frantically resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics in an attempt to liquidate the Black people's revolution which has broken out in the heartland of U.S. imperialism.

But the upsurge of the Afro-American struggle is the inevitable product of the sharpening class contradictions in the United States and a striking manifestation of the entire political and economic crisis of U.S. imperialism. However desperately U.S. monopoly capital may struggle, it cannot stem this upsurge. At the same time, as U.S. imperialism steps up its policies of war and aggression abroad, it inevitably intensifies its political and economic onslaught against the people at home. And this has further worsened the position of the Afro-Americans. As a result, class contradictions between the broad masses of Afro-Americans and U.S. ruling circles have become ever sharper, and the struggle between them has been increasingly aggravated.

The great storm of the people's revolution in various countries of the world is now swiftly developing with the momentum of a landslide. The Afro-American struggle for freedom and emancipation is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of all the people of the world. It is a tremendous support for and encouragement to the struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the people of all countries, and at the same time it wins the resolute support of the people the world over. Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and throve with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."** There is no doubt that the development of history will confirm this brilliant prediction.

October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and unsurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Editor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Managing Editor
Deputy Minister of Information
BIG MAN

Revolutionary Artist
and Lay-out
Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

Production
Manager
JOHN SEALE

Co-Editors

Distribution Manager
ANDREW AUSTIN

Circulation
SAM NAPIER

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

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ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

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Field Marshals
UNDERGROUND

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EMORY DOUGLAS

The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.

2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.

3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.

4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.

5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.

6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.

7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.

8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.

9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.

10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.

11. Party Communications must be National and Local.

12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.

13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.

15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.

16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.

17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.

18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.

19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.

20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.

21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.

22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.

23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.

24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.

25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

1) Speak politely.
2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
3) Return everything you borrow.
4) Pay for anything you damage.
5) Do not hit or swear at people.
6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7) Do not take liberties with women.
8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

1) Obey orders in all your actions.
2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

BLACK PEOPLE: KEEP YOUR GUNS

CALIFORNIA AND FEDERAL GUN LAWS

This article is to serve as a guide for the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and is not to be construed as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

12001 -- A concealable firearm is any firearm having a barrel less than 12 inches in length.

12025 -- Any person caught with a concealable firearm CONCEALED on their person or within any vehicle is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12026 -- No license is required for any citizen 18 years or over to keep a legal weapon in their home or place of business. (Some weapons require federal registration.)

12027 -- Persons exempt from Section 12025 includes members of any club or organization organized for the purpose of practicing shooting at targets upon established target ranges, whether public or private, while such members are using firearms upon such target ranges, or while going to and from such ranges.

12031 -- Except as provided in subdivision (b), every person who carries a loaded firearm on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in any incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory is guilty of a misdemeanor.

(b) Persons who are using target ranges for the purpose of practice shooting with a firearm, or who are members of shooting clubs while hunting on the premises for such clubs.

(c) In order to determine whether or not a firearm is loaded, pigs are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place. Refusal to allow a pig to inspect a firearm constitutes probable cause for arrest.

(h) Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would be otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property.

(j) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person from having a loaded weapon, if it is otherwise lawful, at his place of residence, including any temporary residence or campsite.

12552 -- Every person who furnishes any firearm, air gun, or gas-operated gun, designed to fire a bullet, pellet or metal projectile, to any minor under the age of 18 years, without the expressed or implied permission of the parent or legal guardian of the manor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12560 -- Any felon who owns, has in his possession or under his custode or control any firearm is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding 15 years, or in a county jail not exceeding one year and/or by a fine not exceeding $500.

FEDERAL LAW

(1) Title X of the Civil Rights Act provides that anyone who demonstrates, manufacturers, transports, or teaches the use of firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices for use in riots or civil disorders may be imprisoned for up to 5 years and fined $10,000.

(2) Title VII of the Crime Control Act states that felons, veterans discharged other than honorably, mental incompetent, aliens illegally in the United States, or former U.S. citizens who have renounced their citizenship, who possess, receive, or transport interstate any firearm may be punished by a fine of $10,000.

(3) The National Firearm Act requires that a $200 tax be paid on each transfer of any fully automatic firearm, rifles with barrels under 16 inches, shotguns with barrels under 18 inches, any rifle or shotgun under 26 inches overall, or silencers. The Act also requires that the $200 tax be paid on the making of any firearm that meets the specifications listed above.

THE FOLLOWING LAWS BECAME EFFECTIVE ON DECEMBER 16, 1968

(1) Only a licensed manufacturer or dealer may ship or transport interstate any firearm (other than a rifle or a shotgun) or any ammunition to anyone but a licensed dealer or manufacturer. (Licensed importers may also ship and receive all firearms and ammunition interstate.)

(2) No one but a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may receive in his state of residence any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) that has been obtained by him outside his state of residence.

(3) Only a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may give, trade, transfer, transport, or deliver any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun to anyone living in another state.)

(4) To receive or transport into any state a firearm that cannot be legally purchased in that state is a federal offense.

(5) Only a licensed dealer, importer, or manufacturer may ship or transport in interstate commerce any fully automatic weapon or any sawed-off shotgun or rifle.

This article is not intended as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probably cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

". . . Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

". . . The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose __________ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee __________

Name __________ Date __________

Address __________

City __________ State __________ Zip __________

Profession __________ Organization or Title __________

ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harasment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occured outside of the schools authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual bases. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth; divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

BLACK STUDENTS UNION
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
3106 SHATTUCK ST.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA



REAGAN

Editor:

Reagan is my shepherd, I am in want.
He maketh me to lie down on park beaches.
He restoreth my doubts in the Republican Party.
He guideth me in the paths of unemployment for his party's sake.
Yea, though I walk through the alley of soup kitchens, I am hungry.
I fear all--for thou art against me.
Thou didst prepare a reduction in my wages in the presence of my creditors.
Thou annointed my income with taxes.
So my expenses overcome my income.
Surely poverty and hard times will follow me
All the days of the Republican administration,
And I shall dwell in a rented house forever.

* * *

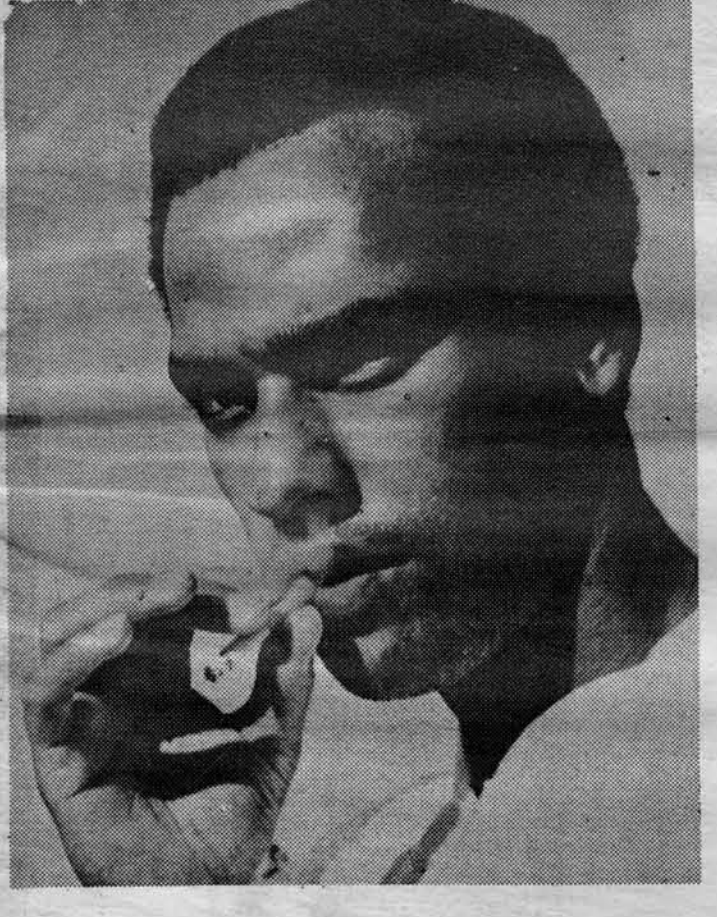
Five thousand years ago Moses said, "Take up thy shovel, mount a camel or an ass, and I'll lead you to the promised land."

Five thousand years later Roosevelt said, "Lay down your shovel, sit on your ass, light up a Camel; this is the promised land." Can you dig it?

But now if you don't watch out, Reagan will give you a shovel, steal your camel, kick you in the ass and take away your promised land.

Chuck Strong Commissioner





BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St.Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of there breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community-mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racists oppress us - are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-6684, 893-1016.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductable. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communtities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2624 WEST ST., OAKLAND

☐ Money Enclosed is $______
☐ Time
☐ Food or Utensils-State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business include for your tax exemption ______

Name ______

Address ______ City ______

State ______ Zip ______

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC – ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH


5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.
We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.
BLACK STUDIES
EMORY